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ALLAHABAD

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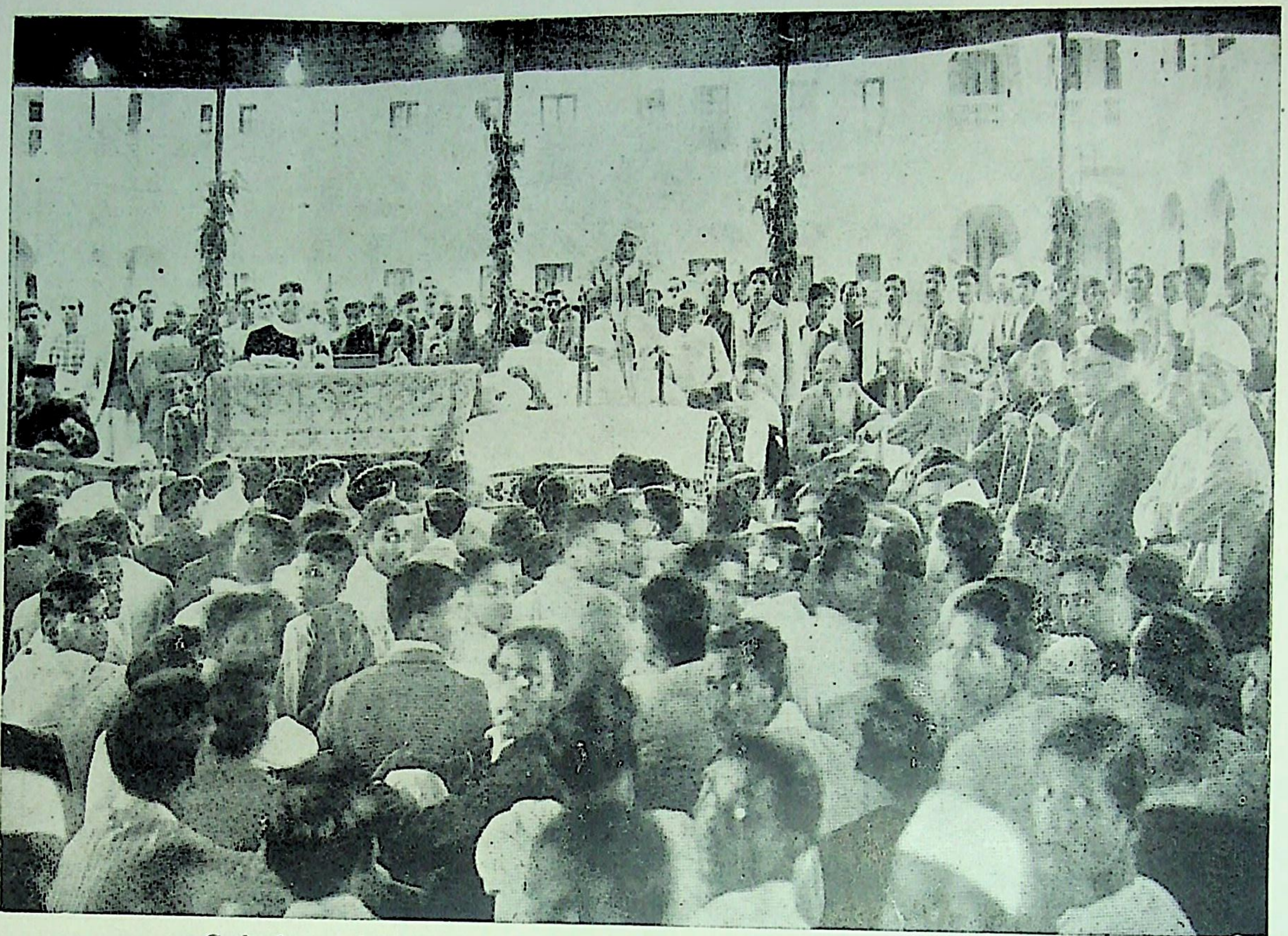
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CHANDAS

By VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

The word for metre in Sanskrit is *chandas*. But why is it so? Yāska says (*Nirukta*, VII. 12): *chandāṃsi chādanāt*. It means that metres are called *chandas* owing to 'covering'. Certainly this is a symbolical expression. For, literally nothing can be covered with a metre. The above explanation of Yāska is undoubtedly based on the following line of the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (I. 4. 2)[1] or a similar Vedic text:

devā vai mṛtyor bibhyatas trayīṃ vidyāṃ prāviśan te chandobhir acchādayan, yad ebhir acchādayṃs tac chandasāṃ chandastvam.

'Verily, the gods being afraid of death entered into the triple sacred science (i.e., the three Vedas). They covered (*acchādayan*, themselves) with metres. Because they covered (themselves) with them, therefore, the metres are called *chandas*'.

The following occurs in the *Daivata Brāhmaṇa* (III. 19): *chandāṃsi* (*chadayati*)[2] *chandayatīti vā*.

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[1] Durgācārya in his *ṭīkā* quotes it with some variants probably from his memory.

[2] Or *chādayati*. I use here Jīvānanda's edition which is not reliable at all. The following two words very clearly show that here at least one such word is wanted. Sāyaṇa's commentary which is added to it in this edition is also not correct always.

And Sāyaṇa explains it:

chanda saṃvaraṇe chādayati varṇān i[ti]. tathā ca nairuktaṃ chandāṃsi chādanāt.

According to Sāyaṇa we know from the above passage that the word *chandas* is from the root *chad* or *chand*, 'to cover'.

This is in fact the same as found in the *Nirukta* and the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* referred to.

Now the root of the word *chandas* is √*chad-chand*. This is in fact one root though appears in two forms, sometimes as *chad* and sometimes as *chand*, just as √ *math-manth;* we have both *mathana* and *manthana*.

In order to find out the true or the intended sense of this root here and to ascertain thereby as to how and why the word *chandas* is employed to mean a metre let us discuss the meanings of some words derived from the same root, √*chad-chand*.

In the *Nighaṇṭu* (III. 14) in the list of the roots meaning 'to praise' or 'to honour' (*arcati-karman*) in its wider sense we find *chandati* and *chadayate* which means, as known to us all, 'to please', 'gratify', 'conciliate'. In the list there is also the word *rañjayati* of the same meaning. Let here be quoted a passage from the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (VIII. 5. 2. I), which will serve our double purpose showing the meaning of the root as well as the actual significance of the word *chandas*:

tānyasmā acchandayaṃs tāni yad asmā acchandayaṃs tasmāc chandāṃsi.

'They (the metres) pleased (*acchandayan*) him, and inasmuch as they pleased (√*chand*) him they are called metres (*chandas*).'

Mark also the use of the root √ *chad* in the word *kavicchad* (*Ṛgveda*, III. 12. 15) 'causing pleasure to the wise'. This root meaning 'to please' is found in many cases in the Vedic and Epic passages. Consider also its employ-

ment in later Sanskrit in such words as *upacchandayati* 'one seduces, entices'; *upacchandana* 'persuasion, conciliation, enticing'.

For its further elucidation the following words may also be taken into consideration: In the *Ṛgveda* (for instance, I. 92. 6) the word *chanda* as an adjective is found in the sense of pleasing, alluring. It also means praising (*stotṛ*, *Nighaṇṭu*, III. 16). As a masculine noun, it is used to mean 'pleasure,' 'delight,' 'desire,' 'will.'

It is to be noted here that the word *chandas* has the following senses: (i) desire, longing for,[3] (ii) the sacred text of the Vedic hymns, and (iii) metre.

We know that by the primary suffix *-as* is made a large number of neuter nouns or action nouns, sometimes assuming a concrete value, and also in the older languages a few agent nouns and adjectives and a considerable number of infinitives.

Now considering all that has been said above we may think that *chandas* (√*chand*, 'to please', with *-as*) literally meaning 'pleasing' first meant a Vedic hymn as being composed in metre it was very pleasing when chanted, and then also gradually the word was used to mean the metre itself in which it was composed. Or it may be that first a metre itself was called *chandas* as it was pleasing, and then a Vedic hymn being composed in the former.

We should like here to revert to the views of Yāska, the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* and the *Daivata Brāhmaṇa*, referred to above, saying that *chandas* is so called on account of 'covering' (*chādana*). As said before this 'covering' is here symbolical, its literal sense being absolutely out of question. It may, therefore, be interpreted in the following or a similar way:

The gods who were afraid of Death (personified) chanted the Vedic metres so sweetly that he was simply

[3] See *Kāśikā* on Pāṇinī, IV. 4. 93.

charmed and as such could not see them as if they were covered and in this way they escaped from his clutches.

We have seen that Sāyaṇa in explaining the passage of the *Daivata Brāhmaṇa* writes *chandayati varṇān i[ti]*, meaning hereby, as it appears to me, that *chandas* is so called because it 'covers' the letters which imply here the *akṣaras* 'syllables' and *mātrās* '*moras*'. Evidently the 'covering' here is figurative and it may mean the following or similar idea: In a metre the syllables or moras are fixed. You cannot add to or subtract from it at your sweet will even a single one of them without spoiling it, just as you cannot take out a thing from or put it in a box which is nailed and covered without opening or breaking it.

So far we have discussed the derivation of the word *chandas* from the root √*chad-chand*. But in the *Uṇādi-sūtras* (688 : *canderādeśca chaḥ*) it is derived from √*cand* (originally √*ścand*) 'to gladden', 'to please,' the initial *c* being changed to *ch*. Readers are to ascertain as to how far this explanation is to be accepted.

THE MAGHAS OF SOUTH KOŚALA

By Dr. A. S. Altekar.

The Purāṇas inform us in their usual prophetic strain that there will flourish in (South) Kośala a dynasty of nine powerful rulers known as 'Maghas.' This dynasty flourished during the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D. and ruled over the upper reaches of the Narmada and the Son and had extended its sway right up to Fatehpur in the heyday of its glory. The history of this dynasty is still shrouded in considerable mystery. It is proposed to discuss it here in a connected manner with such material as is available at present. A large number of inscriptions of this dynasty were discovered in Reva State at Bandhogarh by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, the Deputy Director-General of Archæology. These have not yet been published. A summary of these records is being included in the forthcoming *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India.* I am indebted to Dr. Chakravarti for sending me an advanced copy of the proof of this summary of Bandhogarh inscriptions, which I am thus enabled to utilise in reconstructing the history of the dynasty. A full and reliable account of the kings of this dynasty will be possible only when further archæological discoveries are made.

The information supplied by the Purāṇas is very meagre. They only tell us that there will be nine kings in this dynasty, who will be powerful and intelligent. The names of these rulers and the reign periods of each of them are not given. Their time also is not specifically indicated; the context shows that they must have ruled sometime in the 2nd and the 3rd centuries A.D. Kośala is mentioned

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[1] कोशलायां तु राजानो भविष्यन्ति महाबलाः । मेघा इति समाख्याता बुद्धिमन्तो नवैव तु ॥ *D. K. A.*. p. 51.

as their home. Obviously South Kośala is meant. This province included a number of districts in Eastern C.P. but its precise extent is rather difficult to determine.

The Maghas of the Purāṇas are obviously identified with a number of rulers whose inscriptions are found in Reva State and at Kauśāmbī, and the names of some of whom end with 'Magha.' So far the following kings are known to us either from inscriptions or coins:—

1. Mahārāja Vāsiṭhīputra Bhīmasena. Known from Bandhogarh inscription (unpublished) of the year 51, (which gives him the epithet of Vāsiṭhīputta) Ginja inscription of the year 52 (*E. I.*, III, p. 306) and a sealing found at Bhita, 10 miles from Allahabad, *A.R.*, *A.S.I.*, 1910-11, pp. 50-1.

2. Kochhiputta Poṭhasiri. Son of No. 1. Known from unpublished Bandhogarh inscriptions, dated in the years, 86, 87, 88. Possibly a coin found at Bhita with a legend doubtfully read as Prasṭhaśriya was issued by him.

3. Mahārāja Bhadramagha. Known from Kosam inscriptions dated 81, 86 and 87 (*E.I.*, XXIV, p. 253; XVIII, p. 160; XXIII, 245). He is identical with Mahārāja Bhaṭṭadeva known from an inscription at Bandhogarh of the year 90 (unpublished); who is there described as the son of Mahārāja Poṭhasiri, No. 2 above.

   A few coins of this ruler have been found; *J.N.S.I.*, II, pp. 95ff.

4. Mahārāja Śivamagha. Known from a Kauśāmbī undated inscription (*E.I.*, XVIII, p. 159, a seal found at Bhita strikingly similar to that of Bhīmasena, No. 1 above (*A.R.*, *A.S.I.*,

1910-11, pp. 50-1) and a large number of coins found at Fatehpur (*J.N.S.I.*, Vol. II, pp. 95ff).

5. Mahārāja Vaiśravaṇa. Known from a Kosam inscription dated 107 (*E.I.*, XXIV, p. 146), two undated inscriptions from Bandhogarh which state that his father was Mahāsenāpati Bhadrabala, a fragmentary unpublished inscription in *Allahabad Municipal Museum* and a large number of coins found at Fatehpur (*J.N.S.I.*, Vol. II, pp. 95ff).

6. Mahārāja Bhīmavarman. Known from Kauśāmbī inscriptions dated 130 and 139 (*Indian Culture*, I, p. 177 and *Gupta inscriptions*, p. 267) and 9 coins found at Fatehpur (*J.N.S.I.*, Vol. II, pp. 95ff).

7. Mahārāja Śatamagha. Known from coins only (*J.N.S.I.*, Vol. IV, p.).

8. Mahārāja Vijayamagha. (*Ibid.*, p.).

It will be seen from the above list of kings and their inscriptions that many of the latter are dated. The earliest record of the first of them is dated in the year 51 and the latest record of No. 6 is dated in the year 139. It is clear that the records are dated in an era and not in regnal years. The facility of inscriptions dated in an era usually enables us to solve a number of historical problems; here, however, the case has become rather complicated because there is a wide divergence of opinion about the identity of the era used by these kings.

Inscriptions do not unfortunately mention the name of the era. We have therefore to determine its epoch by palæographical and historical considerations. Now, it is of Bhadramagha, Vaiśravaṇa and Bhīmavarman are

closely similar to the characters of Gupta inscriptions. It is, therefore, argued that these rulers must have flourished in the 4th and the 5th centuries. Messrs. N. G. Majumdar and Krishna Deva hold that the era used in the Magha inscriptions is the Chedi era starting in 248 A.D. (*E.I.*, XXV, p. 146 and p. 253). According to this view the dates of Bhadramagha, Vaiśravaṇa and Bhīmavarman would be *c.* 330 A.D., 380 A.D.

Rai Bahadur D. R. Sahni refers the years to the Gupta era starting in 319 A.D. (*E.I.*, XVIII, p. 160). According to this view the dates of the above kings would be *c.* 401 A.D., 426 A.D. and 451 A.D respectively.

Sir John Marshall, Dr. Konow (*E.I.*, XXIII, p. 247) and Dr. Motichandra (*J.N.S.I.*, V, pp. 95 ff) opine that the years refer to the Śaka era. According to this view the dates of the above kings would be *c.* 150 A.D., 175 A.D. and 208 A.D. respectively.

It is perhaps too early to dogmatise about the era used in these records; further discoveries alone can solve the riddle satisfactorily. I however think that the view that these years refer to the Śaka era is likely to prove the correct one. The main argument against this view is the palæographical. It is argued that the characters of these inscriptions are indistinguishable from Gupta characters, and so we cannot place them in the 2nd and the 3rd centuries, as would be necessitated by referring these years to the Śaka era. This argument is however not a decisive one. There are survivals of archaic forms in later inscriptions and anticipations of later developments in earlier records. We have a striking instance of the latter phenomenon in the Mathura inscription of Kaniṣka dated in the year 14 (*E.I.*, XIX, p. 96) which contains the typically later forms of the Eastern Gupta variety of the three test letters *m*, *s*, and *h*. A critical examination of the Kuśāna and Gupta inscriptions shows that there is no hard-

and-fast difference between Kuśāna and Gupta characters. It would, therefore, be too dogmatic to argue that the palæography of these Magha records compels us to place them in the Gupta period.

There are further circumstances which make it more or less certain that these Magha rulers must have flourished before the Guptas. If we refer these inscriptions to the Chedi era of 248 A.D., the date of Vaiśravaṇa would be *c.* 355 A.D. and that of Bhīmavarman 377 A.D. These rulers then become contemporaries of Samudragupta. This ruler exterminated all the rulers of the Gangetic plain; why then should not the names of these kings appear in the Allahabad inscription among the rulers forcibly uprooted by that conqueror? It may be conceded that Samudragupta may have allowed the Maghas to subsist as his feudatories. The feudatories of the Imperial Guptas in the most outlying parts of the empire invariably refer to their overlords in their records; they were never permitted to mint any coins of their own. Is it likely that in the heyday of his power Samudragupta would have ever permitted a feudatory house ruling not far from his capital to offer him the affront of having its independent coinage? Would not his iron hand descended down swiftly on the unfortunate heads of Vaiśravaṇa and Bhīmasena for their insolence in not referring to their overlords in their inscriptions?

On the other hand if we refer the inscriptions to the Śaka era, the Maghas precede the Guptas by about 75 years. We can then well understand how they were ruling as independent rulers, and issuing coins on their own behalf. We can also understand how the Magha coinage shows no influence on the Gupta coinage. I therefore think it most likely that the era used in the Magha records is the Śaka era and propose to reconstruct their history on that hypothesis.

Vāsiṭṭhīputta Bhīmasena is the earliest known member of the dynasty. Whether he was its founder or was preceded by some other ruler or rulers we do not know. But since the Purāṇas state that there were nine rulers in this dynasty and we have got the names of eight of them, it is not likely that more than one or two rulers would have preceded Bhīmasena, if he was not himself the founder of the dynasty. His known dates are 51 and 52, which according to our hypothesis would correspond to 129 and 130 A.D. respectively. Since the latest known date for his son is 88, we may take it that he ruled from *c*. 45 to *c*. 70, *i.e.*, *c*. 123 A.D. to 148 A.D.

It is interesting to note that no inscription of this ruler is found at Kauśāmbī. Ginja was the northernmost place included in his kingdom and it is situated 40 miles south of Allahabad. During his rule the Kuśāna empire was still in its heyday and controlling the whole of the Madhyadeśa. Kauśāmbī was on the highway from Mathurā to Pāṭaliputra and was under the Kuśāna control. The Maghas did not dare to cast their eyes on it. The discovery of a sealing of this king at Bhita need not prove that it was included in his kingdom; the sealing may have travelled with a letter sent to that place from Bandogarh, which was most probably the capital of the Maghas at this time. It is clear that the Kuśānas like the Moghuls in later times did not care to penetrate into the jungles of Baghelkhand and Reva and so Mahārāja Bhīmasena could rule there as an almost independent ruler.

Vāsiṭṭhīputta Bhīmasena was succeeded by his son Kocchiputta Poṭhasiri, who has recently become known to us from his Bandhogarh inscriptions. Since Śaka 88 corresponding to 166 A.D. is his latest known year, we may assume that he ruled from *c*. 148 to 168 A.D. His Kuśāna contemporaries were Huviṣka and Vāsudeva I.

Five records of this king have been found at Bandhogarh and they show that his kingdom was in a prosperous condition during his rule. Merchants from Mathurā and Kauśāmbī are seen visiting Bandhogarh and making pious endowments for the purpose of constructing wells and excavating caves for Buddhist monks. His government had the paraphernalia of a well constituted administration: a foreign minister of his, named Magha, is seen among the donors at Bandhogarh.

The Kuśāna empire was now on the decline and Bhadramagha or Bhaṭṭadeva, the heir-apparent, was bent upon exploiting the situation to the full in order to extend his kingdom. Magha, the foreign minister of his father, must have been his right hand in planning and executing the plans of expansion and aggrandisement. By *c.* 155 A.D. Bhadrạmagha managed to snatch away Kauśāmbī from the Kuśāna control; we have his inscriptions at the latter place dated 81, 86 and 87 corresponding to 159, 164 and 165 A.D. We have the apparently inexplicable phenomenon of the dates of the father and the son overlapping; the former's inscriptions at Bandhogarh are dated in the years 86, 87, and 88 and the latter's inscriptions at Kauśāmbī are dated in the yaers 81, 86 and 87. We can explain this riddle by the assumption that it was the crown prince Bhadrabala, who had managed to extend the kingdom beyond Kauśāmbī by his ambitious plans of expansion. His father, therefore, may have permitted him to rule at Kauśāmbī practically as an independent ruler even in his own life time.

It was probably by diplomacy or a coupe rather than an open appeal to the arms that Bhadramagha managed to seize Kauśāmbī. The Kuśāna emperor Vāsudeva I may have connived at this aggression in a distant corner of his empire, as did the Bijapur Sultan in the case of Shivaji at the beginning of his career, probably for similar reasons.

If the reading Prasṭhaśriya of the legend on the coin found at Bhita is correct, it is clear that as a natural consequence of the growing importance of his dynasty, Poṭhasiri started the coinage of his dynasty.

Mahārāja Bhadramagha succeeded his father in *c.* 168 A.D. As shown above, it was he who contributed to the prestige and greatness of his family by annexing Kauśāmbī and the territories beyond to his kingdom. It was also he who started the regular coinage of the dynasty by determining its prevailing type. On the obverse of this coin type there is a tree within railing above, with a three-arched hill by its side and the legend below. On the reverse there is a bull, which is so common on the coins struck at Kauśāmbī.

The duration of the reign of this ruler, who ascended the thorne in *c.* 168 A.D. is not known. He does not seem to have ruled long after the death of his father; for King Vaiśravaṇa, who was the successor of his successor Śivamagha, is seen ruling in Śaka 107 or 185 A.D. We may therefore place the independent reign of Bhadramaghà between *c.* 168 and 175 A.D.

Mahārāja Śivamagha seems to have been the successor of Bhadramagha. We have no dated records of this ruler and so it is not possible to be dogmatic about the time of his rule. Nor do we know his relationship with Bhadramagha, which may have indirectly helped us to determine his reign period. It is quite possible to argue that Śivamagha did not succeed Bhadramagha and, that the latter ruled down to *c.* 185, when he was succeeded by Vaiśravaṇa. If we make this assumption, we shall have to place Śivamagha after Mahārāja Bhīmavarman, *i.e.*, after *c.* 220 A. D. He would be then separated from Mahārāja Bhīmasena by nearly a century. This seems rather improbable, for the seal of Śivamagha found at Bhita bears a very close resemblance to the seal of

Mahārāja Bhīmasena. On the seals of both, there is a woman standing on right and bull with crescent below his neck on the left. The name of Bhīmavarman is inscribed below the symbols and that of Śivamagha above them: this is the only difference.

The relationship of Śivamagha with Bhadrabala is not yet known; but very probably he was his son. He may be presumed to have ruled down to *c*. 184 A.D.

Mr. Govind Pai has argued that Gautamīputra Śivamagha, whose seal has been found at Bhita, was a younger son of the Vākāṭaka emperor Pravarsena I and was deputed to Kauśāmbī as a royal viceroy. The so-called Magha dynasty was founded by him. This view however is untenable. It is true that Gautamīputra, which was the matronymic of the eldest son of Pravarasena I, who predeceased him; and so it appears plausible to argue that Gautamīputra Śivamagha of the Bhita seal was his brother. Śivamagha however cannot be regarded as the founder of the Magha dynasty, for there is definite evidence that Bhadramagha, Poṭhasiri and Bhīmasena had preceded him. The seal of Śivamagha shows that he was intimately connected with Bhīmasena; in fact, as shown above, the seals of both these rulers are almost identical. Śivamagha was connected with the rulers of Bandhogarh and not with Vākāṭaka rulers. Śivamagha's currency also shows that he belonged to the royal family ruling at Bandhogarh and Kauśāmbī; for he continues the same type. The Vākāṭakas issued no coins at all. It would be then strange that a provincial royal viceroy should have started an innovation unknown to the parent dynasty. We have therefore to abandon the view that the Maghas were a branch founded by the Vākāṭakas. There is a chronological difficulty also in accepting this theory. It is possible to accept only if we refer the Magha dates to the Chedi era. We have seen already how this is not possible.

After a short reign of about eight years, Śivamagha was succeeded by King Vaiśravaṇa, who according to a Bandhogarh inscription, was a son of Mahāsenāpati Bhadrabala. If we assume that this Mahāsenāpati Bhadrabala is identical with Mahārāja Bhadramagha, the predecessor of Śivamagha, then Vaiśravaṇa would probably become a brother of Śivamagha. But such does not seem to have been the case. King Bhadramagha had assumed the title of Mahārāja in a number of his records at Bandhogarh. Is it then likely that he would have been designated by the lower title of a Mahāsenāpati by his son in records inscribed after his death? We must therefore conclude that Mahāsenāpati Bhadrabala, the father of Vaiśravaṇa, was a different personality from Mahārāja Bhadramagha, who annexed Kauśāmbī to his kingdom. Bhadrabala was probably a junior member of the royal family, possibly a younger brother of Bhadramagha. His son Vaiśravaṇa may have succeeded Śivamagha, because he left behind no heir. Or it may be that he may have ousted Śivamagha and usurped the throne for himself. It must be noted that Śivamagha had a reign of not more than nine years; it may have been a much shorter one also if we assume that Bhadramagha ruled a few years after 175 AD. and Vaiśravaṇa a few years before 184 A.D.

The exact duration of Vaiśravaṇa's reign is not known; but it is very probable that it extended from *c.* 184 to *c.* 205 A.D. Śaka 107 or 185 A.D. is his only known date.

It was probably during the reign of Vaiśravaṇa that the northern boundary of the Magha kingdom was pushed to Fatehpur, where a large hoard of Magha coins was discovered some years ago. This expansion became feasible because the Kuśāna empire was now rapidly decaying. The Maghas thus became the southern

neighbours of the Nāgas of Padmāvatī. The rulers of Kauśāmbī very often used to govern Mirzapur and Benares also; whether Vaiśravaṇa and his successors did so we do not know. No Magha coins or antiquities have so far been found in these districts. From the Purāṇas we learn that the Maghas were ruling over South Kośala, which included the territories right up to Bilaspur and Raipur districts of C.P. It is quite possible that the southern limits of the kingdom may have extended up to these districts, though so far we have not found any antiquities of theirs to the south of Bandhogarh in Reva State. It is very probable that in the heyday of their glory, the Magha kings ruled over the wide territories extending from Vilaspur to the south to Fatehpur in the north. Probably they had two capitals, the ancestral one at Bandhogarh and a new one at Kauśāmbī.

Since the earliest known date of Bhīmavarman is 130 Śaka or 208 A.D., it is almost certain that Vaiśravaṇa was succeeded by Bhīmavarman in *c.* 205 A.D. Bhīmavarman's relationship with Vaiśravaṇa is not so far known, but it is likely that he was his son. Śaka 139 or 218 is his latest known date; his reign therefore may be placed between *c.* 205 and 230 A.D. Bhīmavarman has also left us his coins, which are identical in type with the coins issued by his predecessors. No incidents of his reign are known.

Kings Śatamagha and Vijayamagha have recently come to light through numismatic discoveries. The present writer discovered their coins in the valuable coin collection of Rai Bahadur B. M. Vyas of Allahabad. They are similar in type to the coins of the other Magha rulers and therefore clearly show that they belonged to the same dynasty. We have seen already how we cannot place these kings anywhere between Bhīmasena and Bhīmavarman; we must therefore presume that they succeeded

the latter kiṇg. No inscriptions, dated or undated, of these kings have been found so far and so we can only tentatively fix their reign period between 230 to 275 A.D.

Whether any other Magha king succeeded them, we do not know. Most probably the dynasty came to an end in *c.* 275 A.D. Numismatic evidence shows that it was succeeded by King Nava, whose coins are an exact copy of the Magha coins. Sometime after Nava came King Puśvaśrī, who seems to have been a contemporary of the early Gupta kings at Kauśāmbī.

CANDRAŚEKHARA SMṚTIVĀCASPATI

By CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

Determination of the real identity of authors is a difficult problem in the history of Indian literature.[1] The same person had different names (especially in the case of Tantric writers) and titles one or other of which was used in different works written by him. Then there was the temptation to pass later works of less known authors under the names of earlier celebrities. It is not also unknown that more than one author possessed the same name or title. These facts are responsible for a good deal of confusion resulting in wrong identifications of authors of different periods and different parts of the country. One among numerous such cases is dealt with in the present note. A number of works variously attributed to the well-known Vācaspati Miśra of Mithila[2] or to a Mahāmahopādhyāya Candraśekhara 'a Vārendra Brahmin who settled at Navadvīpa in the beginning of the 18th century and wrote many works on Smṛti' will be found to have really emanated from a different man hailing from Triveṇī in Bengal—Mahāmahopādhyāya Candraśekhara Smṛtivācaspati who flourished towards the middle of the 17th century.

Candraśekhara was related to Jagannātha Tarkapañcānana, the famous author of the *Vivādabhaṅgārṇava* which was translated by Colebrooke in his *A Digest of Hindu Law on Contracts and Succession* (Calcutta, 1798).

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1 *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal* [ASB], Vol. VIII, Introduction, p. XXXIII; *Festschrift P. V. Kane*, pp. 77-78.

2 *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in the India Office Library* [*IO*], Vol. III. 1490; *Descriptive Cat. Sans. MSS in the Sanskrit Coll. Library, Calcutta* [CS], Vol. II. 79; ASB, III. p. XXX.

As a matter of fact, he is stated to have been the 'brother of the maternal grandfather of Jagannātha,' who refers to him variously as 'my venerable grandfather,' 'modern Vācaspati,' or 'Vācaspati Bhaṭṭācārya' (Colebrooke, *Digest*, I. XVI, 133, III. 343). According to local tradition, however, he was the elder brother of his paternal grandfather (*Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, 49. 14). He composed his *Dvaitanirṇaya* in 1562 Ś.E. (1640 A.D.) as is evident from a statement of his own made in the body of the work (*Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, 49. 10).

The full name of the author seems to have been Mahāmahopādhyāya Candraśekhara Smṛtivācaspati. But the different parts of his name are scattered in different places of his works. He refers to himself either as Candraśekhara or as Vācaspati in the introductory verses of his works. An idea of the full name may be had from the third introductory verse[3] and the colophon of the *Dharmadīpikā*, in the colophon of one manuscript of which the name of the author is given as Mahāmahopādhyāya Candraśekhara.[4]

The author does not give any genealogical account in detail. He mentions his grandfather Vidyābhūṣaṇa who is stated to have been versed in the six systems of Philosophy. The father though not mentioned by name is also stated to have been a scholar like his grandfather. In fact, Candraśekhara states that he was a pupil of his father.[5] A work of the grandfather called the *Āhnika-*

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[3] श्रीचन्द्रशेखरो नाम्ना ख्यातो वाचस्पतिः स्मृतौ ।

[4] R. L. Mitra—*Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, V. 1919. Here the work is called *Dharmaviveka*.

[5] विद्याभूषणविख्यातः षड्दर्शनमते सुधीः । तत्सुतस्तादृशो धीमान् ततोधीती च तत्सुतः ॥
श्रीचन्द्रशेखरो नाम्ना ख्यातो वाचस्पतिः स्मृतौ । स्मृतीनां च प्रकाशार्थं तनोतीमां प्रदीपिकाम्॥

—Introductory verses Nos. 2-3 of the *Dharmadīpikā*.

According to Keith and Thomas (*IO*. Vol. II. 5919) as also Kane (*History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I, p. 597) Vidyābhūsana was the father of Candraśekhara.

mīmāṁsā is referred to in the author's *Smṛtisārasaṅgraha.*[6] Reference is also made to his *Durgotsavapaddhati* (*Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā* (49. 11, f. n. 18).

Candraśekhara was the author of at least three Smṛti-Mīmāṁsā works[7]—the *Dharmadīpikā*, the *Smṛtisārasaṅgraha* and the *Dvaitanirṇaya*. The chronology of the works is not known, but the third work appears to have been composed after the other two, as it has been referred to in each of them.[8] The good number of recorded manuscripts of these works bears testimony to the popularity enjoyed by them at one time, though little is known of them at the present day. A reference is made to the manuscripts, mostly referred to or already described of these works:

*Dharmadīpikā—I*0. III. 1570, Vol. II. 5919; *Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal* (No. I.G. 15, 3882, 5133), *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.*—R. L. Mitra (II. 650, V. 1919), *Notices of Sans. MSS.*—H. P. Shastri (I. 192), *Descriptive Cat. of Sans. MSS. in the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat*, p. 250.

Smṛtisārasaṅgraha—CS, II. 203, IO, III. 1490, *Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal* (No. II. A. 42), ASB. (III. 2074). *Dvaitanirṇaya*—CS. [I. 79, *Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal* (No. II. A. 42), *Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat* (Sanskrit MS., No. 1913).

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6 विवृतं पितामहकृताह्निकमीमांसायाम्—*Smṛtisārasaṅgraha* MS (No. II. A. 42) belonging to Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, p. 152.

7 It is just possible a number of other smṛti works were also composed by him (*Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, 49. 12).

8 व्यवहार्यता तु अस्माभिर्द्वैतनिर्णये व्यवस्थापिता—*Dharmadīpikā* (Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, MS. No. 3882, Fol. 34A). Also *Smṛtisārasaṅgraha* (Society's MS. No. II. A. 42, pp. 153, 161.).

9 This is an incomplete MS. of the work. It agrees generally with MS. No. 3882. Fol. 1-9A and Fol. 33B—40B of the latter MS. are not found in the present MS. In line 1 of Fol. 21B (=first half of line 1 of Fol. 33B of MS. No. 382) it is definitely recorded that some portion is missing in the present MS. (अत्रान्यत् त्रुटितम्). The second half of line 1 and line 2 of Fol. 21B agree with the last two lines of MS. No. 3882.

THE ISLAMIC CONCEPTION OF THE SOUL

By M. G. Zubaid Ahmad

1. *Introduction.*

There has been a great controversy amongst the philosophers and thinkers of the world about the existence and nature of the soul. Several different theories were prevailing before Aristotle. Plato tried to explain it by his theory of the world-soul. Aristotle criticized all of them and defined the soul as "the first entelechy of a natural body which is capable of having life, that is, of an organic body designed for a definite purpose." Amongst the modern philosophers of Europe there is also a great difference of opinion on this problem. This controversy is not confined to the domain of philosophy alone. Different religions have got different notions of the soul, and so we find such terms as the Muslim soul, the Hindu soul, the Christian soul, etc., in the *Encyclopædia of Religions*. In the following pages I propose to explain the conception of the soul according to Islām. I shall treat the subject from the theological standpoint rather than metaphysical, psychological or mystic point of view.

2. *Arabic words for the soul.*

For the soul, there are two words in Arabic, *rūḥ* and *nafs*. Both of them are philologically connected with wind (breath). The Arabic word for wind is *rīḥ* which and the word *rūḥ* have a common root, as is shown by the fact that the plural of both of them is *arwāḥ*. Moreover, the word *ruḥ* also means breath. For instance, take this sentence ملاءالقربة بروحه (he filled his water-skin with his breath). As to the word *nafs*, it may be pointed out

[1] Lane's *Arabic English Lexicon* (under '*rūḥ*').

that it is derived from *tanaffus* (breathing, for which sense there is a special word of the same root, but differing in pronunciation, *viz.*, *nafas*). All this proves that the idea of wind is predominant in both of the words. It may be pointed out here that they may be synonyms but they are not always interchangeable. We cannot say نفخ في نفسه in place of نفخ في روحه or قال في روحه for قال في نفسه. The sense of 'mind' is generally conveyed by *nafs* and so psychology (science of mind) is called *'ilmu 'n-nafs*.

3. *The word 'rūḥ' in the Qur'ān.*

The word *rūḥ* occurs 19 times in the *Qur'ān* and has been used in the following meanings :—

(1) Revelation as in this verse
[3] وكذالك اوحينا اليك روحاً من امرنا
(and thus we sent the revelation by our command).

(2) Firmness, strength, etc., *e.g.*, [4] ايدهم بروح منه
(He helped them with firmness, strength from Him).

(3) The angel Gabriel, *e.g.*, [5] وايدناه بروح القدس (and we helped him with Gabriel).

(4) The soul, spirit which animates the body as [6] نفخ فيه من روحه (He breathed into the body of His soul).

As the *Qur'ān* does not concern itself with philosophical discussions, there is nothing to be found in the Book

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[2] *Miftāḥ Kunūzu 'l-Qur'ān*, p. 284.
[3] The *Qur'ān*, 42:52.
[4] *Ibid.*, 58:22.
[5] *Ibid.*, 2:253.
[6] *Ibid.*, 32:7.

regarding the nature and reality of the soul except this that the Prophet was asked at the suggestion of some Jews about the soul, whereupon God sent a revelation[7] to the effect that it owed its existence to His command. The great scholastic Rāzī says[8] that this reply makes two things clear about the soul, *viz.*, (1) the reality of the soul is that it is an essence, simple and abstracted from matter and unlike to the material creatures of God, and (2) it is not eternal as it is a created entity.

4. *The word 'nafs' in the Qur'ān.*

It is generally held by Muslim scholars that wherever in the *Qur'ān* the word *rūḥ* means soul, it signifies the animal soul, and for the human rational soul, the Book uses the word *nafs*. This word in its single form occurs a hundred times.[9] It has two plural forms *nufūs* and *anfūs*. The former has been used twice[10] and the latter one hundred and twenty-five times.[11] This word either means 'self' or signifies the human soul which is subject to purification and education. And this fact makes it clear that the chief characteristic of the human soul is its consciousness and its yearning for activity.

5. *Is the conception of the 'rūḥ' and 'nafs' one and the same?*

I have already discussed the philological meanings of these two words. As to their conception there is a little controversy among the scholars. Some say that both the words connote the same sense, while others hold that the *rūḥ* is the animal soul, while the *nafs* is the rational

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7 *Ibid.*, [illegible]

8 Rāzī's Commentary on the Verse, 17:85.

9 *Miftāḥ*, p. 540.

10 *Ibid.*, p. 110.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 110.

soul. There is also a third view according to which either of the two words may be used in both the senses. According to some Ṣūfīs, the *rūh* is the spiritual and heavenly soul whereas the *nafs* is a material one. Al-Ghazālī says[12] that the words *rūḥ*, *nafs* and *qalb* respectively signify the physical soul, passions and the fleshy heart and all of them have also a common meaning, *i.e.*, the rational soul.

6. *Various views about the rational soul.*

Though the *Qur'ān*, as already said, is silent on the philosophical aspect of the soul except that it is an essence created by God's command, yet the question of the nature and reality of the soul is so important that it could not help engaging the attention of Muslim scholars whether pure theologians or pure philosophers. The former have discussed the matter in the light of the teaching of the *Qur'ān* and the Prophet and the latter under the guidance of their philosophical ideas. These speculations regarding the nature of the soul and its conceptions do not fall within the scope of the present article. Some theories may, however, be mentioned here to show the style and the nature of these philosophical discussions. To begin with, in the first place there are two main divisions of these differences; [illegible][13] according to one division, the soul is an essence *not* abstrac[illegible]ted from the matter, in other words it is a substance. The [illegible] holders of this view are again divided amongst themselve[illegible]s. The famous Mu'tazilite Naẓẓām thinks that the soul [illegible] is a body and it is the mind.[14] By a 'body' he means to [illegible] say that the soul is the fine and subtle corporal particles [illegible]ermeating the human body just as rose-water permeates the ro[illegible], [illegible]ose remaining i[illegible] the body from the very beginning up to the end [illegible]

[12] His *Iḥyā*, Vol. I, Chapter I.
[13] *Kashshāf iṣṭilāḥāti 'l-funūn*, p. 542.
[14] Al-Ash'arī's *Maqālālu 'l-islāmiyyīn*, Vol. [illegible], [illegible]33.

It does not undergo any change. Ibnu 'r-Rāwandī, another follower of this material tendency, holds that the soul is an indivisible atom and it is in the heart because the heart is that part of body which acquires knowledge. Some say it is fiery atoms while others describe it to be airy ones. According to another view it consists of watery atoms which are identical with the four human humours, moderate both quantitatively and qualitatively. Physicians say that it is a fine vapoury substance which is produced out of the fine humours of the body and their vapours. Some of them identify the soul with the fusion of the elements.

According to the other division of the Muslim thinkers, the soul is an essence abstracted from matter and its connection with the body is that of control and management. Another important follower of this school holds that the rational soul of man belongs to the 'world of the Command,' *i.e.*, the angelic world, and cannot be measured, while the animal soul pertains to the 'world of creation,' *i.e.*, the material world. I need not mention other speculations. I should, however, like to state here the orthodox view.

7. *The orthodox conception of the soul.*

The great scholastic Imām Fakhru 'd-Dīn Rāzī has discussed this question in his well-known Qur'ānic Commentary under the verse 17, 85. He has mentioned there various theories of which he supports this one. The soul consists of atoms corporal, celestial, luminous and of fine essence like the nature of the light of the sun. When the body is created and is made prepared and fit to receive these atoms (as is signified by the Qur'ānic verse سوّاه 32, 7—9, *i.e.*, then he made the body) they are made to permeate the interior of the body like the permeation of fire into charcoal or of oil in mustard or of rose-water into the rose.

As long as the body is fit and sound to retain this permeation of those fine atoms, it is living; but the moment this permeation is stopped, the man dies. This is the view which has been accepted by such an orthodox scholar of great reputation as Ibnu'l-Qayyim in *toto*, who has advanced 115 arguments, of course all theological, in support of this speculation and then refutes all the criticisms brought against it. He says that this theory is supported by the teaching of the *Qur'ān* and the Prophet. But the present writer does not agree to this statement. There is nothing in the *Qur'ān* and in tradition that may support the idea of 'permeation' which was the general tendency of the ancient and mediæval schools of philosophy. The teaching and the spirit of the *Qur'ān* recognise an entity of the soul as quite distinct from the body. Its characteristic is its consciousness and its yearning for unfolding its potentialities.

8. *Five stages of the human soul.*

According to Al-Ghazālī, there are five stages of the human soul[15] :—

(1) The perceiving soul which perceives what is brought to it by the five senses and it is the origin of the animal soul. It is common to animals and human babies.

(2) The cogitative soul which retains what is brought to it by the senses and puts them before the conceiving soul. This stage is not reached by babies in the beginning but after some mental growth.

(3) The conceiving soul which conceives abstract ideas. This stage is not attained by a mere boy.

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[15] *Kashshāf iṣṭilāḥāt*, p. 543.

(4) The thinking and reasoning soul which, by the synthesis and analysis of the known concepts, arrives at new conclusions and inferences.

(5) The final stage of the human soul is the prophetic soul, which stage is reached by prophets and saints only. This soul sees the invisible and possesses the angelic knowledge.

Rāzī says that our experience shows beyond any doubt that all men do not possess the rational souls or mental powers of the same degree. According to him rational souls are of three classes: the highest and the sublimest, the mediocre and the lowest.[16] He holds that the prophets and saints belong to the first class, Muḥammad the Prophet of Islām, being the highest member of this class. Their mental powers are so strong that they can perceive and conceive what an ordinary and mediocre mind cannot, and they are directly in touch with heavenly souls (a fourth kind of soul or mind, which Arabian psychologists have added to the three already existing kinds of mind, the vegetative, the animal and the human). Rāzī says that the more our soul busies itself with the affairs of the body and the world, the more our soul loses its contact with the heavenly souls. Here Rāzī explains the nature of dreams. In sleep our mind is less busy with the images brought to it by the senses and so it begins to work freely in its own way. If the mind is of a right sort, what it dreams, happens to be true. Rāzī further develops this theory of the strength of human soul and explains in this way what is called miracles.[17] He says that a mind may be so strong and powerful that it not only can influence another mind in any way that it likes (and this is the foundation of hypnotism) but also can affect nature. According to Rāzī,

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16 Rāzī's *Mabāḥithu' l-Mashriqiyyah*, Vol. II, p. 417.

17 *Ibid.*, p. 418.

magic is also the reaction of a mind on nature like miracle. What differentiates the two from each other is that the object of the miracle is to lead the people to the right path, while magic is performed to deceive and cheat them.[18]

9. *The classes of souls according to their moral activities.*

A man's soul is held respnosible for whatever he does. The soul which traverses the right path has been called *Nafsu 'l-muṭma'innah* (the tranquil soul) in the *Qur'ān*, the soul which does evil acts but at the same time reproaches itself for that, is termed as *nafsu 'l-lawwāmah* (the repenting soul) and the evil soul is called *nafsu 'l-ammārah* (the lustful and sensual soul).

10. *Is the human soul the soul of God?*

In three Qur'ānic verses occurring at different places in connection with the creation of Adam, God has said that He breathed of His spirit into Adam's body. Now the question is, does it mean that the human soul is Divine and a part of God? Some Ṣūfis might have thought in that way, otherwise, the interpretation adopted by the orthodox scholars and other scholastics is this that God breathed into the body a soul which is one of His creatures. As the soul is much sublimer than ordinary matter, God, out of regard for it, has called this soul His soul just as the *Ka'bah* is, out of sanctity and honour, termed as God's House.[19]

11. *Pre-existence of the soul.*

There are two schools of thought about this question. According to one school, souls were created before the creation of their bodies, and they are kept in His treasure-house. When their times come, God transfers them from

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[18] *Ibid.*, p. 424.

[19] Ibnu 'l-Qayyim's *Kitābu 'r-Rūḥ* (Hyderabad), p. 246.

His treasure-house into human embryo. Others hold that the moment a body is created a soul is created and breathed into it. Both the schools quote the Scripture in their support.

13. *Are all souls of the same nature?*

According to some thinkers, all of them are of the same nature, as all men are; but they differ in their qualities. They form one species. Others hold that the soul is a genus having many species under it, and each species having different individuals. It is held generally that no two souls are alike just as no two men resemble together.[20]

14. *Islamic eschatology.*

As nobody can deny the existence of the mind or soul, the *Qur'ān* has not cared to prove its existence or to explain its nature. What concerns the Book most is the life after death, because it is the foundation of all religions. It is the eschatological discussion of the soul and not its metaphysical or psychological treatment that is an important topic of the *Qur'ān*. Now I turn to this topic. This is a very vast subject. I shall confine myself to some important questions.

I. *Does the soul die?*

Some hold that it does not die, while others hold the opposite view. But it is only a wordy difference. If the death of the soul means its departure from the body, then certainly it dies. If the death of the soul is to be taken in the sense of its total annihilation, then in that sense it does not die.[21]

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20 *Kashshāf iṣṭilāḥāt* under '*nafs*'.

21 Ibnu 'l-Qayyim's *Kitābu. r-Rūḥ*, p. 51.

II. *How are souls distinguished from one another after death?*

When the soul is an essence standing by itself, this question does not arise. It concerns those who believe that souls cannot exist without bodies.[22]

III. *Does the soul return to the grave?*

The soul which is taken away by the angel is brought back to be examined by the two angels called Munkir and Nakīr.[23]

IV. *Do the departed souls hear the voice of a living person?*

There is a little controversy about this point among theologians. Some say that they hear the living and some hold that they do not.[24]

V. *Is an intercourse possible between the departed souls and the living?*

Souls after death can visit their living relatives. Our books on this topic are full of the stories of the departed souls meeting the living in dreams, which were proved to be true by the subsequent happenings. One of them may be related here.[25] This is a tradition narrated by the authentic chain of narrators. A certain companion of the Prophet was killed in action. After a few days another companion of the Prophet saw the departed soul in dream and heard it say: "Convey this message of mine to the Caliph that at the time of my death such and such person took away my armour. The Caliph should get it back from him and after selling it he should pay off my

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22 *Ibid.*, p. 58.
23 *Ibid.*, 62.
24 *Ibid.*, 70.
25 *Ibid.*, 21.

debt that I owe to another man." The dream was reported to the Caliph who ordered both of the men to be present. They both testified to the truth of the report.

VI. *Where does the departed soul sojourn?*

During the period intervening between their time of death and the Day of Judgment, they sojourn in different regions ranging from the grave up to the very high point in heavens. The abode of the good soul has been called *'Illīyūn* and that of evil souls is termed as *Sijjīn*,[26] the former being the highest and the latter, the lowest. After the Day of Judgment, they go to Paradise or Hell as they deserve.

VII. *Are the departed souls benefited by the prayers, almsgiving and charity done by living men?*

There is a controversy on this point amongst Muslim scholars. But the orthodox reply is in the affirmative.[27]

VIII. *Transmigration of the soul.*

Islām rejects this theory very clearly, definitely and strongly. The Muslim books dealing with this topic are full of arguments. But as it is a great controversy between Hinduism and Islām, I should not like to discuss it here.

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[26] *Ibid.*, p. 184.

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 188 and the following pages.

SOME DATED MANUSCRIPTS OF THE TANTRASĀRA OF KṚṢṆĀNANDA VĀGĪŚA AND THEIR BEARING ON THE LIMITS FOR HIS DATE (A.D. 1500 to 1600)

By P. K. Gode

According to Farquhar[1] the *Tantrasāra* of Kṛṣṇānanda Vāgīśa dates from A.D. *1812*. In the *Catalogue*[2] *of MSS* in the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat we find two MSS of the *Tantrasāra* of Kṛṣṇānanda Bhaṭṭācārya which are dated A.D. *1693* and *1770*. If the work called the *Tantrasāra* mentioned by Farquhar is identical with its name-sake represented by two dated MSS referred to above we must reject the date A.D. 1812 for it given by Farquhar. In fact this contradiction of dates for the *Tantrasāra* led me to the search of a MS of the work which is dated 54 years earlier than the MS of A. D. 1693 mentioned above. This MS[3] is identical with MS *No.*

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1 *Vide* p. 355 of *Outlines of Religious Literature of India*, Oxford, 1920. On p. 389 also this author and his work are assigned to A.D. 1812.

2 Published 1935 (Calcutta)—Page 57.

MS No. 585—तन्त्रसार by कृष्णानन्दभट्टाचार्य Copied in Śaka 1615 (=A.D. *1693*); in Bengali-characters.

MS No. 1623—Do—copied in *Śaka 1692* (=A.D. *1770*).

3 MS *No. 388 of 1882-83* (तन्त्रसार) begins as follows:—

"श्रीगणेशाय नमः

नत्वा कृष्णपदद्वंद्वं ब्रह्मादिसुरवंदितं ।
गुरुं च ज्ञानदातारं कृष्णानंदेन धीमता ॥
तत्तद्ग्रन्थगताद्वाक्यान्नानार्थं प्रतिपद्यत ।
सौकर्य्यार्थं च संक्षेपात्तन्त्रसारः प्रतन्यते ॥

Colophon on the last folio 337b reads:—

"...श्रीकृष्णानंदवागीशभट्टाचार्याय संग्रहः...........संवत् १६८५ समय आपाढ वदि पदि वा लिषित पक्षधरमिश्रेण ॥"

388 of 1882-83 in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona. It is very old but well preserved. It is dated *Saṁvat 1695* (=A.D. *1639*) and may, therefore, be looked upon as one of the oldest dated MSS of the *Tantrasāra*. I note below some of the references to previous authors and works as found in this MS of A.D. 1639 :—

(1) सारसंग्रह—fol. 1,
(2) नारदवचनात्—fol. 1, 3, 10,
(3) योगिनीतंत्रे—fol. 1, 2, 9, 31,
(4) गणेशविमर्शिन्यां—fol. 2, 31,
(5) रुद्रयामले—fol. 2, (रुद्रजामले) 6,
(6) मत्स्यसूक्ते—fol. 2, 48,
(7) वैशंपायनसंहितायां—fol. 2,
(8) भैरवतन्त्रे—fol. 2, 124,
(9) वाराहीतन्त्रे—fol. 3, 9, 18,
(10) साम्प्रदायिकाः—fol. 3,
(11) तन्त्ररत्ने—fol. 4,[4]
(12) श्रीक्रमे—fol. 4, 10, 132,
(13) रामार्चनचन्द्रिकायाम्—fol. 5, 8,
(14) निबन्धे—fol. 6, 24, 29, 32, 49, 55, 66, 87, 96, 109, 114, 121,
(15) विश्वसारे—fol. 6, 22, 59, 162,
(16) वाराहीजामलादौ—fol. 7,
(17) आगमकल्पद्रुमे—fol. 7, 81,
(18) सनत्कुमारवचनात्—fol. 8, 11, 45,
(19) गौतमीयात्—fol. 9, 11, 12, 16, 25,
(20) सनत्कुमारसंहितायाः—fol. 9,
(21) हंसपरमेश्वरे—fol. 10,
(22) मुंडमालायां—fol. 10, 17, 122,
(23) भगवद्वचनात् (B. Gīta)—fol. 11,
(24) योगिनीहृदये—fol. 13, 15, 17, 18, 190,
(25) अगस्त्यसंहितायां—fol. 13, 17, 80,

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[4] [Aufrecht *CCL*, 222—तन्त्ररत्न by कृष्णविद्यावागीश (of नवद्वीप) *IO*, 364, L 240, *Bik* 617].

(26) कुलार्णवे—fol. 14, 16, 253,
(27) तन्त्रराजे—fol. 17,
(28) स्वतंत्रतंत्रे—fol. 20, 35, 156,
(29) नीलतंत्रे—fol. 20, 177, 186,
(30) सारदायां—fol. 25, शारदायां (fol. 30), 44,
(31) नवरत्नेश्वरे—fol. 28, 43, 153,
(32) राघवभट्टः—fol. 29, "इतिभट्टः" (fol. 42, 46, 244) "भट्टधृतं" (fol. 45),
(33) वासिष्ठे—fol. 30, 32, 295
Colophon on folio 34—"इति महामहोपाध्यायश्रीकृष्णानंदविद्यावागीशभट्टाचार्यविरचिते तंत्रसारे प्रथमः परिच्छेदः"
(34) मालिनीतंत्रे—fol. 35,
(35) महासंमोहनतंत्रे—fol. 36,
(36) ज्ञानार्णवे—fol. 36, 41, 44, 113, 117, 298,
(37) कुलचूडामणौ—fol. 36, 61, 263,
(38) तारादौ—fol. 39,
(39) विशुद्धेश्वरतंत्रे—fol. 40,
(40) ब्रह्मयामले—fol. 45, ब्रह्मजामले (130)
(41) विद्यानंदनिबंधे—fol. 48,[5]
(42) स्वच्छंदसंग्रहे—fol. 49,
(43) दक्षिणामूर्त्तिसंहितायाम्—fol. 64, 113, 126,
(44) पुरश्चरणचन्द्रिकायाम्—fol. 81,
(45) बृहद्गौतमीये—fol. 85,
(46) सनत्कुमारकल्पे—fol. 89,
(47) ब्रह्मसंहितायाम्—fol. 93,
(48) प्रपंचसारे—fol. 112,
(49) त्रिपुरासारे—fol. 122,
(50) कुब्जिकातन्त्रे—fol. 129, 261,
(51) महारुद्रयामले—fol. 130,
(52) हंसमाहेश्वरे तंत्रे—fol. 131,
(53) स्वछंदभैरवे—fol. 136,
(54) कालीतंत्रे—fol. 169, 171, 191,

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[5] Aufrecht—*CCI*, 574—mentions one विद्यानंदनाथ as the author of two tantra works लघुपद्धति and सौभाग्यरत्नाकर (Burnell 208—MS. A.D. 1509).

(55) वीरतंत्रे—fol. 169, 180,
(56) नीलसारस्वततंत्रे—fol. 172,
(57) सिद्धसारस्वते—fol. 184,
(58) महाशङ्खे—fol. 185,
(59) मायातंत्रे —fol. 185,
(60) मातृकार्णवे—fol. 186,
(61) भावचूडामणौ—fol. 191,
(62) चामुंडातंत्रे—fol. 205,
(63) कुक्कुटेश्वरतंत्रे—fol. 207,
(64) मन्त्रदेवप्रकाशिकायाम्—fol. 220,
(65) गारुडतंत्रे देवीश्वरसंवादे—fol. 223,
(66) वटुकस्तोत्र—fol. 226,
(67) मन्त्रतंत्रप्रकाशे—fol. 239,
(68) कालिकापुराणे—fol. 241,
(69) "इति गुरवः"—fol. 254,
(70) भागवत षष्ठस्कंध—fol. 270,
(71) पद्मपुराण—fol. 272
(72) वसिष्ठसंहिता—fol. 304,
(73) कुमारीतंत्रे—fol. 324,
(74) उत्तरतंत्रे—fol. 324,

On folio 29 we find an author of the name राघवभट्ट[6] who is, in my opinion, identical with राघवभट्ट the author of a Commentary on the *Śāradātilaka*. This Commentary was composed in A.D. *1494*. Subsequent references to राघवभट्ट (*vide* reference No. 32 in the above list) are made briefly as "इतिभट्टः". If this identification is accepted we may fix the date of the *Tantrasāra* of Kṛṣṇānanda Vāgīśa Bhaṭṭācārya *between A. D. 1494 and A.D. 1639*, the date of the B. O. R. I. MS of the *Tantrasāra* analysed above.

According to Dr. Binoytosh Bhattacharya[7] Kṛṣṇānanda, the author of the *Tantrasāra*, "*can be confidently*

[6] This reference is found in the Oxford MS of the *Tantrasāra* (*vide* p. 95b of Aufrecht's *Cata. of Oxford MSS*, 1864).

[7] *Vide* p. 80 of *Bulletin* of Rama Varma Research Institute, Vol. X, Part II (July, 1942)—"Kṛṣṇānanda, the author of

placed in about A.D. 1607'' because his *guru* Pūrṇānanda composed his *Tattvacintāmaṇi* in *Śaka 1499*=A.D. *1577*. Dr. Bhattacharya's date for Kṛṣṇānanda, *viz.*, ''*about A.D. 1607''* is in harmony with the limits for the date of this author fixed by me (*Between A.D. 1494 and 1639*). It, however, conflicts wih the date of a MS of the *Tantrasāra* recorded by Poleman.[8] This MS is dated *Saṁvat 1586*=A.D. *1530*. Presuming that this date is correct we have to fix the limits for the date of the *Tantrasāra between A.D. 1494 and 1530*. These limits harmonize with the dates of वासुदेवसार्वभौम as given in the *Madhyayugīna Caritrakośa*,[9] where we are told that our Kṛṣṇānanda was the pupil of वासुदेवसार्वभौम (C.A.D. 1550—1525). Dr. S. K. De[10] in his recent book on *Vaiṣṇava Faith and Move-*

Tantrasāra was a disciple of Pūrṇānanda, who in his turn was a disciple of Brahmānanda. Pūrṇānanda wrote a work, *Tattvacintāmaṇi*, which was composed in the Śaka year 1499, which corresponds to A.D. 1577. Kṛṣṇānanda, who is one generation later, *can be confidently placed in about A.D. 1607.''*—Dr. Bhattacharya notes the following works mentioned in the *Tantrasāra*:—

आगमसार, भैरवीतन्त्र, एकवीराकल्प, गोविन्दवृन्दावन, हंसमाहेश्वर, अगस्त्यसंहिता, देव्यागम, गणेशविमर्षिणी, हंसपारमेश्वर, ज्ञानार्णव, क्रियासार, कुलामृत, कुलार्णव, कालिकापुराण, मत्स्यसूक्त, मुण्डमालातन्त्र, नवरत्नेश्वर, पिङ्गला, पुरश्चरणचन्द्रिका, रामार्चनचन्द्रिका, श्रीक्रम, शारदातिलक, सिद्धयामल, समयतन्त्र, ताराप्रदीप, तत्त्वसार, वैशम्पायनसंहिता, विश्वसार, विशुद्धेश्वर, कुलचूडामणि, कुलावली, कुलोत्तर, कुब्जिकातन्त्र, मालिनीविजय, निगमकल्पद्रुम, नीलतन्त्र, प्रपञ्चसार, रुद्रयामल, रत्नावली, सारसंग्रह, शक्तियामल, सिद्धसारस्वत, सम्मोहनतन्त्र, तन्त्रार्णव, तन्त्रराज, वाराहीतन्त्र, विष्णुयामल, यामल ।

8 *Vide* p. 218 of a *Census of Indic MSS in U. S. A. and Canada*, Newhaven, 1938—Poleman's entry reads as follows:—

" Kṛṣṇānanda Vāgīśa.

4372. *Tantrasāra*. Bengali Script. 390 ff. 18×3·75. 8 lines. *Saṁ 1586*. Auf.*I. 222. UP 765."

9 By Pt. Chitrav Shastri, Poona, 1937—Page 730. Farquhar (p. 289 of *Outlines*, etc.) puts वासुदेवसार्वभौम to the period " from 1470—1480" when he taught at Nuddea.

10 Published, Calcutta, 1942, page 21. Navadvīpa (modern Nadiyā) was a famous seat of mediæval Sanskrit learning. "It was also the stronghold of orthodox Brahmanism, as well as of Neo-Tāntricism and produced a stringen social dictator like Raghunandana as well as a champion of obscure Tāntric rites like Kṛṣṇānanda"—(*ibid.*, p. 23).

ment in Bengal states: "Kṛṣṇananda Āgamavāgīśa, the author of *Tantrasāra* and the great exponent of Tāntric doctrines in Bengal, is said to have been (like Raghunandana) a contemporary of Caitanya; and there can be hardly any doubt as to the widespread character of Tāntric teaching in Bengal." Later in the same book Dr. De refers to the tradition according to which Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma had 4 pupils:—(1) रघुनाथ शिरोमणि, (2) रघुनन्दन, (3) कृष्णानन्द आगमवागीश and (4) चैतन्य. Dr. De thinks that Caitanya's pupilship, even though plausible, appears to have no foundation in fact and that "रघुनन्दन and कृष्णानन्द belonged to much later times."[11]

According to Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri[12] Raghunandana "was a contemporary of Śrī-Caitanya and flourished towards the close of the fifteenth century. The period of his literary activity probably lay between 1520 and 1570." According to Dr. S. K. De Caitanya was born in *February, 1486* and passed away in June-July, 1533.[13] Prof. Sri Ram Sharma[14] includes Raghunandana[15] in his list of Sanskrit writers of the reign of Emperor Akbar (A.D. 1542—1605).

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11 *Ibid.*, p. 65, footnote 2.

12 *Vide* p. 132 of Appendix to the Edition of *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī*, Calcutta, 1940.—There is some contradiction in the extract quoted above. "*Close of the fifteenth century*" would necessarily be before A.D. 1500 while Dr. Chaudhuri gives "*between 1520 and 1570*" as the period of Raghunandana's literary activity. This period falls in the 16th century.

13 *Vide*, pp. 51 and 76 of *Vaiṣṇava Faith*, etc.

14 *Vide* p. 156 of *Bibliography of Mughal India*, K. P. House, Bombay.

15 According to M. M. Prof. P. V. Kane Raghunandana flourished between A.D. 1490 and 1570 and his literary activity lies between *1520 and 1570*.

The chronological data recorded in the foregoing discussion may now be tabulated as follows :—

A. D.	Remarks K = Kṛṣṇānanda, author of *Tantrasāra*
1486	Birth of Caitanya, who is supposed to be a contemporary of K and Raghunandana.
C. 1450 – 1525	Dates of Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma, supposed to be the *guru* of K.
1494	Date of शारदातिलकटीका by Rāghavabhaṭṭa who is mentioned by K in his *Tantrasāra* as pointed out by me.
1530	Date of MS of *Tantrasāra* of K in U. S. A. according to Poleman.
1533	Death of Caitanya.
1520-1570	Literary activities of Raghunandana according to M. M. P. V. Kane and Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri. K is supposed to have been a contemporary of Raghunandana.
1542-1605	Dates of Emperor Akbar during whose reign Raghunandana flonrished according to Sri Ram Sharma.
1577	Date of *Tattvacintāmaṇi* by पूर्णानन्द, the *guru* of K according to Dr. B. Bhattacharya.
C. 1607	Date of K according to Dr. Bhattacharya.
1639	Date of B. O. R. I. MS of *Tantrasāra* analysed in this paper.
1693	Date of a MS of *Tantrasāra* of K with V. S. Pariṣat, Calcutta.
C. 1725	Date of Gauri-Kānta who quotes *Tantrasāra* in his commentary on *Anandalaharī* (Oxford, 108b) MS of A. D. *1770*.
1770	Date of another MS of *Tantrasāra* with V. S. Pariṣat.
1812	Date of *Tantrasāra* of K according to Farquhar.

The chronology tabulated above will, it is hoped, help to clarify the problem of the exact date of the *Tantrasāra* of Kṛṣṇānanda Vāgīśa, who can be definitely put *between, say*, A.D. *1500* and *1600* according to my data recorded in this paper. If the date A.D. *1530* of the MS of the *Tantrasāra* as recorded by Dr. Poleman is correct it will clinch down the date of the *Tantrasāra* between A.D. *1494 and 1530*. I request Dr. Bhattacharya to examine the data recorded by me in this paper and see how far it could be reconciled with his date for Kṛṣṇānanda, *viz.*, "about A.D. 1607."

IS CANDRA OF THE MEHRAULI PILLAR INSCRIPTION IDENTICAL WITH KANIṢKA?

By DASHARATHA SHARMA

Writing in the pages of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. IX, No. 1, Dr. R. C. Majumdar has, explaining away all the difficulties caused by question of geography, religion and palæography, identified Candra of the Mehrauli Pillar inscription with Kaniṣka, the well-known Kuśana Emperor, solely on the basis of the mention of one Candra-Kaniṣka in an old Ms. discovered in Central Asia. But the fact that Candra of the Mehrauli Pillar inscription is described as having crossed the seven feeders of the Indus[1] and defeated the very people of whom, according to the Central Asian Ms.,[2] Candra-Kaniṣka was the king and among whom he is said to have risen is, in my opinion, a reason strong enough to discredit the identity of the two sovereigns proposed by the learned Doctor. Candra of the Mehrauli Pillar inscription started his military operation from some base inside India, and Kaniṣka is, by the evidence of this Ms., which speaks of him as Candra-Kaniṣka, the king of Bāhlaka, shown to be an outsider, even though he might not be proved to have been a relative of Kadphises II.[3]

[1] तीर्त्वा सप्तमुखानि येन समरे सिन्धोर्जिता बाह्लिकाः (Stanza 1).

[2] The two relevant extracts from the Central Asian MS. given by Dr. Majumdar are:—

(*a*) "in the kingdom of Bāhlaka, there was a king Chandra-Kanishka by name."

(*b*) "at that time in the kingdom of Bāhlaka, in Tokhāristān, there arose in the family of Imperial rulers, a brave, meritorious, intelligent king of Jambudvīpa, by name Chandra-Kanishka."

[3] Some relationship is, however, suggested by the second extract from the MS. given above.

Candra of the Mehrauli Pillar inscription defeated the Bāhlikas. Candra-Kaniṣka, on the other hand, was their ruler from the very beginning; according to the Khotanese Ms. he *arose* among them, though he was at the same time the sovereign of other parts of Asia. Candra of the Mehrauli Pillar was a *Vaiṣṇava*. Kaniṣka was perhaps a *Bauddha*. There is at least no inscriptional, numismatic or traditional evidence to prove that he was a supporter of any form of *Vaiṣṇavism*. So the supposed identity of Candra of the Mehrauli Pillar inscription and Kaniṣka may be regarded as disproved from almost every point of view.

I believe the Mehrauli Pillar inscription to refer to some Gupta Emperor, most probably Candragupta II. My reasons for this view have been already stated elsewhere.[4] What I wish to adduce as new evidence for my viewpoint are the following coin-legends of the Gupta rulers:—

1. Coin of Samudragupta (Allan, *Catalogue*, p. 21ff).

Rajādhirajaḥ pṛthivīmavitvā
divaṁ jayatyaprativāryavīryaḥ.

2. Coin of Kācha (Allan, *Catalogue*, pp. 15ff).

Kācho gāvamavajitya
divaṁ karmabhiruttamair Jayati.

3. Coin of Candragupta II (Allan, *Catalogue*, pp. 35ff).

Kṣitimavajitya sucharitair—
divaṁ jayati Vikramādityaḥ.

Let one read these and then compare them with the following lines of the 2nd stanza of the Mehrauli Pillar inscription,

[4] *Journal of Indian History*, XVI, pp. 13 ff.

Khinnasyeva visṛjya gāṁ narapatergāmāśrita-syetarāṁ
mūrtyā karmmajitāvaniṁ gatavataḥ kīrtyā sthitasya kṣitau,

and see whether they do not reproduce just the ideas contained in the coin-legends. Here too the ruler is shown conquering both the worlds, the earth and heaven, and the means of conquest are the same. If no other evidence were forthcoming these coin-legends are, I believe, enough to prove that the Mehrauli Pillar too is a Gupta record. The records of the Kuśanas are not unknown. But does any of them reproduce anywhere the idea contained in this inscription? If they do not, what reasons can we have to assign to them, or for the matter of that, to any non-Gupta ruler?

INSTANCES OF THE AUXILIARY VERB IN THE SUTTANIPĀTA

By Babu Ram Saksena

The *Sutta-nipāta* (*Sn*) is quite an old text of the Pāli canon, as we find its commentary, the *Niddesa*, written in the 3rd cen. B.C., also included in the canon. Although the so-called auxiliary verb, such as *achh-* <*ā-kṣi*, *vatt-* <*vṛt-* and *as-* occur independently in many places in the texts of Middle Indo-Aryan (MIA), instances of their use as auxiliary are rare, particularly in the first sub-period (*cir.* B.C. 500 to A.D. 1) of MIA. In the circumstances, the following cases of the verb *as-* used as auxiliary in the *Sn.* will prove interesting:—

(*a*) *nāssu gacchanti* (did not resort to) vs. 291.

(*b*) *nāssu gāvo hanimsu* (did not kill cows) vs. 295, vs. 297.

(*c*) *nāssu himsanti* (do not injure) vs. 309.

In all these instances *nāssu* is clearly *na* + *assu*. What is this *assu*? Fausboll takes it to be a correspondent of Skt. *sma* (p. 33 *Sn. Index*). But I am afraid that his interpretation is not correct. The development of *sma*, as phonetically expected, should be *amha* or *asma*; compare the form of the Pre. I pl. *amha*, *asma* (Skt. *smaḥ*). Moreover the particle *sma* in Skt. comes only after the forms of the Pre. tense while amongst the instances cited above we find one (*b*) after a form of the Past tense. Fausboll thinks that *assu* may also correspond with Skt. *su or svid* and in *Sn.* vs. 231 he breaks *tayassu* as *tay' assu* in spite of the clear interpretation given by the commentary (***Paramatthajotikā***):

tayas su dhammā jahitā bhavantīti ettha su iti pādapūraṇamattē nipāto.

The P. T. S. edition has rightly followed the lead of the commentary and accepted the reading *tayas su*. Similarly in *Sn*. vs. 1032 also, Fausboll commits the mistake of breaking *kenassu* as *ken' assu*, taking *assu* as correspondent of Skt. *svid*, a most unsatisfactory position since in the very next line of the verse *svid* occurs as *su* which is phonetically correct. Therefore, *kenassu* should best be broken as *kena su;* the lengthening of *-s* to *-ss* is a common feature in Pāli texts in such positions.

In the instances under discussion, there is no possibility of *assu* being taken as *su* since *nāssu* must be broken as *na assu*. The commentary also does not appear to favour the interpretation of *assu* as *sma* since it says :—

nāssu gacchantīti neva gacchantīti (p. 317)

nāssu gāvo haniṃsu te na te gāviyō māresum (p. 319)

If the commentary had favoured the interpretation of *assu* as *sma* it would have interpreted the Present (*nāssu gacchanti*) not as Present (*neva gacchanti*) but as Past (*agamiṃsu*).

This *assu* may correspond with either (1) *assu* (Imperative 3rd pers. pl. corresponding to Skt. Potential form *syuḥ*) or (2) *āsuṃ* (Past 3rd pers. pl.). The latter is more likely. The form *āsuṃ* may well have an emphatic form in *assu*. This has been used as auxiliary. It is curious that we find it with the conjugated forms *gacchanti*, *hiṃsanti* and *haniṃsu*, while in New Indo-Aryan, the auxiliary comes with the Participle (Past or Present). The explanation might be that in early stages of a new development in a language, the position is shaky. It is possible that the use of the auxiliary began with the conjugated forms as well as the participles and later it survived only with the latter. We may compare the promiscuous use of the Genitive and the Dative cases in early MIA and the survival of the Genitive only, later. In the

cases under discussion, it may be surmised that the speaker felt the weakness of the position of the Principal verb and wanted to give it some support. Possibly various formations were requisitioned into use and one or two of them became stereotyped and survived.

The interpretation of *assu* as a form of *āsu*, *āsuṃ* is supported by two other occurrences in Pāli literature. In the *Mahābodhi Jātaka* (No. 528) in vs. 159 (p. 241 of *Jātaka*, Vol. V) there is a passage

urabbharūpena vak'āsu pubbe

where for *vak'āsu* there is a variant reading *vakāssu*. The commentary takes *āsu* (*assu*) merely as expletive (*āsu ti nipātamattaṃ*) but interprets it as *ahosi*. This *āsu* is clearly the pl. form of *ahosi*, and we find many instances in Pāli where a sg. noun has been used with a plural verb. Similarly in the *Latā-vimāna* (*Vimāna-vatthu* 32 vs. 4) there is a passage

visiṭṭhakallāṇitarassu rupato

where also the commentary (p. 135) takes *assu* merely as expletive (*assūti nipātamattaṃ*) and says that there is a variant reading, viz., *tarāsi*. The P. T. S. and the Devanāgarī edition of the text, however, read *tarassa*, relying on some other manuscripts of Ceylon. In this instance also, to my mind, there is a clear case of a pl. form of the verb being used with a singular noun. In both these cases, of course, *assu* has been used as the Principal verb. This confirms the position that I have taken about the use of *assu* as auxiliary in the instances of the *Sn.* cited above.

It is possible that other instances of the use of the auxiliary verb lie hidden in the ancient MIA texts. If they come to the notice of scholars, the position is sure to become clearer.

ṢAṬ BHŪMIKĀ BY DĀRĀ SHIKOH

By TARA CHAND.

The manuscript contains 15 folios but the first folio is wanting. The leaves are 10″ by 6½″ in size and each page contains 19 lines. The writing is clear and legible, section or Chapter headings are in red ink.

At the end the following statement occurs:

تمام شد نسخهٔ ست بهومیکا تصنیف شاهزاده کیوان جهان
شاهزاده دارا شکوه[2]

The name of the copyist and date of writing are not given. Regarding the authorship of the manuscript there is no proof except the statement given above, that Dara Shikoh composed this piece.

Biographers of Dārā Shikoh do not mention *Ṣaṭ Bhūmikā* among his works, and the name does not occur in any catalogue of manuscripts. Dara usually styles himself فقیر بے اندوه محمد دارا شکوه (Faqīr-i-be andoh Muhammad Dārā Shikoh), but in this manuscript he is described as Shāhzāda Kaiwān Jahān (Prince of the world of Saturn), which is an unusual epithet.

The manuscript is divided into a series of six *Bhūmikā* (stages). The term *Bhūmikā* indicates a station on the mystic path and in the Yoga philosophy *Bhūmi* (*Bhūmikā*) means a plane of consciousness. It is in this sense that the term is used and its employment explains the subject-matter of the work, namely, that it is a treatise on Yoga.

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[1] A manuscript from the library of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute.

[2] Tamam Shud Nuskha-i-*Sat Bhūmikā* tasnīf-i-Shāhzāda Kaivān Jahān Shāhzāda Dārā Shikoh.

The first series of six *Bhūmikās* is incomplete as the first leaf of the manuscript is missing. The second series has the following captions:—

(1) Good intentions (*Śubha icchā*), that is, desire for liberation.

(2) Reflection (*Vicaraṇa*), *i.e.*, belief in the existence (*Baqā*) of God and the transience (*Fanā*) of the world, which produces detachment (*Vairāgya*).

(3) Meditation (*Manana*), *i.e.*, weakening of attachment for the satisfaction of senses and creation of love for the vision of the supreme spirit (*Paramātmā*).

(4) Dream state (*Swapana pada*), *i.e.*, enquiry into the vision of the supreme spirit who comprehends all objects.

(5) Detachment (*Asakti*), *i.e.*, breaking relations with the body which is made of elements.

(6) Attachment (*Bhāvapadārtha*), *i.e.*, enquiry as to the means of preventing vicissitudes in the vision of the supreme spirit.

(7) The fourth station (*Turīya*), *i.e.*, complete absorption in the vision of God.

A short account of these subjects will be of interest.

The first step on the path is that the seeker entertains the desire for release (*Mukti*) and aversion for the pleasures of sense. He then seeks a teacher and asks him how to cross the ocean of joy and sorrow and attain the shore of eternal bliss. The teacher tells him that the ship which will take him across is the name of God (*Paramātmā*). Although followers of different religions do not agree on this particular name, but there is one name

which is the same for all, namely, the Unuttered (*Ajapā*). The Quran indicates it when it says:

نفخت من بروحی

(*Nafakhtu Man Biruhi*)

The second step is to enquire from the teacher how to prevent the attractions of sense from drawing the heart away from God. The teacher will point out that this *world is the realm of death* (*Mritaloka*, *dārulfanā*) and it resembles a dream, for on waking no trace of it remains, and it is like wine which has the appearance of water but does not quench thirst. The heart of man is like the thirsty deer who in the hope of finding it runs after it and ultimately despairs of it. The poet says:

چیست دنیا از خدا غافل بودن   نے قماش و نقره و فرزند و زن [3]

The pleasures of sense are like the deadly poison, and even an animal which possesses only one sense is destroyed by it. How much worse is then the condition of man who possesses five of them?

आल पतंग मृग मीन गज एक स्वाद जिहे दैन ।
जा में पाँचों बसैं सो करिहैं क्यों चैन ॥

The man who gives up these desires and engages in meditation of God, receives his reward from His Court.

The third step is for the seeker to enquire from his guide why in spite of the knowledge of the transitoriness of this world and meditation on *Paramātmā* the scent of sense impressions does not vanish and the desire for the pleasures of the world does not disappear. The teacher will tell him that in this condition it is necessary to seek the company of the pious and to serve them with devotion. He will thus acquire humility and harmlessness. When

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[3] What is the world? To be heedless of God; neither silk, nor silver, nor son, nor woman.

Chīst dunīya az Khudā ghafil budan
Ne qimāsh o nuqra o farzand o zan.

the seeker develops these virtues and ceases to hurt any living creature, his innerself is purified, and the love of God takes firm root in his heart.

At the fourth stage the seeker learns from the teacher that the reflection of God illumines the entire universe, but the physical eye is incapable of seeing Him. He is seen with the eye which sees reality, when one transcends the stages of form and shape. It is, therefore, necessary that the multiplicity of the universe should be removed and the mind should contemplate the reflection of God in all things, who is, however, apart from all of them. Thus should the seeker's heart be filled with love and friendship:

ब्रह्मन घर, चंडाल घर, दीप जोत उजियार ।
मोहन मने पतंग के, बसै जोत इकसार ॥

When this process illumines the heart, God throws open the windows of vision on him and the seeker is rewarded with the ineffable sight.

On attaining this stage the seeker still entertains some doubts. In order to remove them the teacher tells him that the true seeker is one who in the contemplation of God forgets his own self and retains no idea of the distinction between I and Thou:

मोहन लगन सनेह की जाके अंतर होय ।
सुध न रहे बस दुन्द की कहाँ एक और दोय ॥

It is, therefore, necessary that the rust of self should be removed from the mirror of the heart, and the soul should become completely absorbed in God. On learning this the seeker understands that without expelling every vestige of thought it is not possible to attain liberation. As we forget the waking state in sleep and the waking and the sleeping states in the state of dreamless sleep, it is clear that although the self is not as ignorant as it appears, its forgetfulness of reality is due to the association of the body. The self should realize that it is not the agent of

any activity and that it is God whose light illumines every heart and every limb.

रोम रोम मँह रम रहा, अजय दया कत थाह (?) ।
हौं नाहिं हौं, माह हौं हौं माहिं हौं नाथ (ह?) ॥

At this stage the seeker says that although he receives the vision of God, but the vision is not continuous and the veil of self obstructs it now and again. It is then that the teacher points out that intellect is incapable of removing the veil and it is necessary to cultivate the passion of love. When the seeker's heart is filled with the love of God and disturbed with the pangs of separation, then God who is ever kind to His lovers and whose light is brighter than the light of thousands upon thousands of suns and moons, removes the veil from his face and throws the effulgence of His light upon him, so that he becomes absorbed in the vision, and then he exclaims:

تعال الله چه دولت دارم امشب   که آمد ناگهاں دالدارم امشب[4]

This condition is known as *Vikalpa-Samādhi*.

The last stage known as *Turīya* is one in which the absorption of the seeker is complete, no veils remain, and there is no vicissitude.

When by the grace of God the final realization is attained, then the seeker in his going and sitting, in his eating and drinking, in sleeping and walking remains absorbed in the vision of God, and does all these things as if he was living in a dream. Thus he becomes *Jivan-mukta* (liberated in life).

Whether the *Ṣaṭ Bhūmikā* is actually the work of Dārā or someone else, the fact remains that it breathes the broad and tolerant spirit that inspired Dārā in his

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[4] *T'̣aal allāh chi daulat dāram imshab,*
Ki āmad nāgahān dildāram imshab.

translation of the Upaniṣads and in the compilation of *Majma'ul Bahrain*. Whoever the author may be, he visualizes the goal of human endeavour to be absorption in the Supreme Soul and he realizes that the end can only be reached by following the mystic path of inner discipline and complete surrender to the will of God. He recognizes no differences of creeds and believes that Hinduism and Islam agree both as regards the Ultimate goal of life and the means of attaining it.

SOME DECISIVE GEOGRAPHICAL AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL EVIDENCE TO PROVE THAT THE DATE OF THE WRITING OF THE GĪTĀ BELONGS TO THE PERIOD OF 3000 B.C. AND CONSEQUENTLY THE DATE OF THE KURU WAR, BY CONNECTING IT WITH THE FLOOD IN THE BIBLE, AND ALSO WITH THE VANISHED SARASWATĪ RIVER AT KURUKṢETRA

By V. B. Athavale.

[A summary of an essay on the date of the composition of the text of the *Gītā* read at the 12th All-India Oriental Conference at Benares, along with the epidiascopic projection of the archæological and geographical evidence to support the statement that the *Gītā* belongs to the period of 3000 b.c.

(A) A transliteration of *G* 15.8. 'a vital force is born with the body, lives with it and accompanies the person to the next world' is written in hieroglyph on an Egyptian statue of 2780 b.c. (B) In the excavations at Ur, near Basra, seals 5000 years old were found. The carving shows a tusked elephant and a bull tied to a sacrificial manger, thus revealing that they are from India. (C) The name of the town was 'ASURA', and the 16th ch. of the *Gītā* mentions 'people from the country Asura.' (D) Sauti, the author of the *Mahābhārata*, uses the word '*Yavana*' to mean foreigners. This word is clearly a phonetic transposition by Indians of the word IONIA, an old name of Greece current in 800 b.c. As the *Gītā* does not use this word, it is clear that it must be older than the *Mahābhārata*. (E) In the early Babilonian tablets of 2500 b.c. is found an inscription in cuneiform script a description of an old flood. The inscription consists of 12

small sentences. Curiously enough the word *YAJÑA* (a sacrificė) appears twice in the small document. (F) In the *Gītā*, too, the word *Yajña* is used far in excess to that of the word *Dharma*. In the *Mahābhārata*, however, the word *Dharma* is very prominent and the word *Yajña* is very rarely used. (G) In the tablet mentioned above a reference is made to a deluge continuing for six days. (H) In the *Mahā*. also there is a reference to a deluge for six days, and the Yādavas migrated to the Prabhāsa. (I) The date of the Babilonian flood can be archæologically fixed, because a single deposit 8 feet thick of clean water-laid clay was found below Ur. (J) In the *Mahā*. मौ० अ० ३ a vivid description of earthquakes is given. "Big rivers are flowing in the opposite direction. . . . ." This is a very rare phenomenon associated only with earthquakes. (K) The flood at Ur and the disturbances at Hastināpur were simultaneous. For, both the places are in the same latitude and the mythological date of our deluge coincides with that given above. (L) When the war was going on, the Great-bear was in the star cluster *Maghā*. The period of rotation of the bear is 2800 years, *i.e.*, 105 years per *Nakṣatra*. At present the bear is in *Kṛttikā*. Counting backward we know that it must have been in *Maghā* either 2200 or 5000 years ago. (M) We have a quotation of an old astronomer Garga, who says that in his time the bear was in *Maghā*, and 2566 years had elapsed since the crowning of Yudhiṣṭhira, proving 5000 to be a correct answer.]

First let us take a survey of the attempts made by others to fix the date of the war. The war continued for 18 days. On this point there is no difference of opinion. The month in which the war took place can also be determined correctly because in the *Mahābhārata* there are many references regarding the position of the planets in relation with the star groups (नक्षत्र) in the sky. How many years before the Christian era this war took place is how-

ever a very debatable point. For instance, in the 'symposium on the date of the *Mahābhārata* war' at the 12th All-India Oriental Conference, Benares (2-1-44), there were three papers which tried to settle the year through the astronomical references. Mr. Karandikar arrived at 1931 b.c. through his method. Dr. Daftari gives 1162 b.c. as the result he arrived at. Prof. Sengupta maintained that 2566 b.c. must be the correct year. It is clear from the varied results obtained that they are due to different interpretations of the astronomical references. The author of this article was present when the discussion was going on in the symposium. The discussion reduced to the interpretations of the references. No criterion can ever be given to prove that one interpretation is correct while the others are wrong.

The question became still more complicated when the discussion shifted to the point as to what part of the references should be called interpolations or later additions. As the problem is a historic one, there can be no compromise; and it can never be argued that all the solutions are equally true, nor can the mean of the two extreme values be regarded as nearer to the truth. Until a geographical or archæological evidence is brought forth to support a certain date it must be admitted that the problem has not been solved.

Now let us turn to the attempts to settle the date of the *Gītā* by correlating it with other literatures of well-defined periods. The easy flow of the Sanskrit in the *Gītā*, the archaic forms of words violating the rigid grammar rules, do point to the fact that the Sanskrit was in common speech, and not a language of the learned only. The religious Sanskrit literature is divided into two groups (a) *Śruti*, and (b) *Smṛti*. The first is older than the second. The *Gītā* belongs to the second group. In this group there is a period called a *Sūtra* period. Pāṇini and Patañjali are two well-known authors of this period. The

date of Pāṇini has been accepted by all scholars to be between 800—500 b.c. As Patañjali has commented on the *Sūtras* by Pāṇini, the date of Patañjali is also accepted to be 100-150 years later than Pāṇini.

Pāṇini, while discussing the grammar of the names of revered persons mentions the names of Vāsudeva and Arjuna. This shows how revered the names were at the time of Pāṇini. There is also a Sanskrit lithic record of 300 b.c. in praise of Saṅkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva, at Hathibada, near Nagari, in the Udeipur State. This shows that Vāsudeva was deified at that time. By comparing the text of the *Gītā* with the *Yoga-sūtra* by Patañjali it can be shown that though the word *Yoga* is common in both of them, yet the *Gītā* uses the word *Yoga* in a far wider sense than that by Patañjali. Out of the first 70 *Sūtras*, 12 can be seen to have even a parallel word-grouping.[1] This proves that the text of the *Gītā* must be prior to Patañjali. On account of a single word '*Brahma-sūtra*' in the *Gītā* some scholars try to prove that the text of *Gītā* is later than the '*Brahma-sūtras*.' But as Buddhism has been directly referred to in the *Brahma-sūtras*, they are of the 250 b.c. period; and hence, the argument has no value in comparison with the documentary evidence given above.

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[1] Patañjali :	*Gītā*
1. 2 योगः चित्तवृत्तिनिरोधः	चित्तं निरुद्ध योगसेवया
1.12 अभ्यासवैराग्याभ्यां तन्निरोधः	अभ्यासेन वैराग्येण च गृह्यते
1.13 तत्र स्थितौ यत्नः अभ्यासः	अभ्यासयोगेन मां इच्छाप्तुं
1.14 दीर्घकालनैरंतर्यसत्कारासेवितः	अनन्यचेताः सततं यो मां स्मरति नित्यशः
1.16 तत्परं पुरुषख्यातेः गुणवैतृष्ण्यं	उत्तमः पुरुषः अन्यः परमात्मे०
1.23 ईश्वरप्रणिधानाद्वा	ईश्वरः सर्व···तमेव शरणं
1.27 तस्य वाचकः प्रणवः	ओँ इत्येकाक्षरं ब्रह्म
1.28 तज्जपः	यज्ञानां जपयज्ञः
2.1 तपःस्वाध्याय-प्रणिधानानि क्रिया	यज्ञदानतपक्रियाः
2.7-8 सुखानुशयी रागः, दुःखानुशयी द्वेषः	इंद्रियस्येंद्रियस्यार्थे रागद्वेषौ व्यव०,
इहामुत्र फलभोगविरागः	नैवेह नामुत्र विनाशः···इंद्रियार्थेषु वैराग्यम्

Loka. Tilak has already discussed the reference मासानां मार्गशीर्षोहं and has concluded on astronomical grounds that the text of the *Gītā* must be prior to 1400 b.c.

Mr. Telang and others have already observed the similarity of ideas and in some cases even the congruence of sentences, in the *Gītā* and the Upaniṣads like *Muṇḍaka*, *Śvetāśvatara*, etc. This suggests that they belong to the same period.

Muṇḍaka 1.2.7 (अष्टादशोक्तं अवरं येषु कर्म) refers probably to some book with 18 chapters. The peculiar word grouping 'अवरं कर्म' in the *Muṇḍaka* and the *Gītā* strongly suggests that the two belong to the same period.

Upaniṣads are known to belong to the transition period between the *Śruti* and *Smṛti*. It is well known that the *Gītā* is called 'गीतासूपनिषत्सु'. *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* is regarded by all the scholars to belong to the end of the *Śruti* period. From the reference कृत्तिकाः प्राच्यै दिशै न च्यवंते Mr. Vaidya has shown that the *Śa. Br.* belongs to the period of 3000 b.c.

These attempts to shift the period of the *Gītā* from 300-to-3000 b.c. would appear to be vague, inconclusive, and even ridiculous as none of the dates is supported by archæological evidence. The author of this article has however secured an archæological evidence to prove that the text of the *Gītā* belongs to the 3000 b.c. period as follows:

(a) pp. 420, and 441 of *Na. Geo. Mag.*, America, Oct. 1941, gives a photograph of a wooden statue from the Egyptian pyramid of the date 2780 b.c. Over the statue is the hieroglyph signifying that "a vital force was born with a person as a counterpart of the body, lived with it, and accompanied it into the next world." This has a remarkable congruence with the wording in the *Gītā* 15.8. 'शरीरं यत् अवाप्नोति ; उत्क्रामंतं स्थितं'. The idea appears to have been transported *verbatim* from India. We are going to

prove below that there was a land connection between India and Iraq through Persia and also a sea route between the port Dwārakā and Egypt and the cargo from India was gold, silver, ivory, apes, and peacocks at the period of 3000 b.c.

(b) From our tradition we know that the Kuru war had taken place at the junction of Dwāpara and Kali-yuga. It means that after the war violent disturbances had taken place. Vāsudeva was in Dwārakā, and a great sea wave attacked the port and the people were compelled to leave the place and they migrated to Prabhāsa. At Hastināpur, the capital of the king Yudhiṣṭhira, certain earth disturbances were actually felt. For in the *Mahā.* भीष्म० अ० ३ we get a vivid description of the things that were occurring. "Big earth-quakes are rocking the mountains, peaks are crumbling to pieces, big rivers are flowing in the reverse directions, . . . " This shows clearly that the epicentre of the quake must have been in the part of the Himālayas near Hastināpur. The big Saraswatī river which was flowing south-west on account of a tilt in its gradient stopped flowing and at Thāneśwar the river is at present merely a series of muddy lakes and pools. [For the photographs of these lakes and the legends associated with them, page 25 of the *Illustrated Weekly of India* (12-12-43), is worth seeing.] According to our traditional almanac the accession of the king Yudhiṣṭhira is nearly the same as that of कलियुग which is 5044 this year.

If the description of the earth disturbances on a vast scale be true we may expect a simultaneous and similar effects in the same latitudes. For instance, the latitude of Dehli is 30 and that of Basra is the same. But Basra being near the sea due to the earth disturbance a big sea wave is sure to rise and produce a deluge in the plane tract, the effect being similar to that at Dwārakā.

In the *Na Geo. Mag. Ame.* Jan. 1930, there is an

article with the heading "*Excavations at the site of the city of Abraham (Ur) reveal geographical evidence of the Biblical-story of the flood.*" P. 97, "The oldest traditions tell that Ur was among the first cities that had come into existence not long after the great floods." P. 120, "An early Babilonian tablet written in wedge-shaped cuneiform script, gives the description of the flood as 'Six days and nights raged wind, deluge, and storm over the earth. When the seventh day arrived the storm ceased. Hedges and fields had become like marshes. I opened a window and light fell on my face. . . I offered sacrifice (*Yajña*). The gods gathered like flies over the sacrifice. " P. 109, "The earliest certain date for the accession of the first king of Ur that can be arrived at is 3100 b.c. with a probable error of 100 years." P. 118, "A single flood deposit 8 feet deep of water-laid clay was found, and it was due to the great Biblical flood. As it was found just below the grave of the first king the date of the flood must be 3100 b.c." P. 110, "The extensive use of gold, silver, and gem stones in the articles found in the graves 5000 years old, clearly prove that the people must have connection with Egypt and India, for Iraq has no mines from which these could be obtained." P.123, miniature boats 5000 years old were also found.

From the archæological evidence cited above and the geographical argument that the earth disturbances are simultaneous it is clear that our traditional date of (?) coincided with the date of the Biblical flood obtained from archæological evidence. Now, we shall try to prove that it was the port of Dwārakā which was connected with Iraq and Egypt.

Gen. 10. in the *Bible* tells that only the family of Noah escaped out of the flood with the help of the Ark. Noah had a great-great-grandson called Ophir. Ophir is also an unidentified region famous in the *Old Testament*

for fine gold. Solomon's ships had started from Gaber and three years were occupied for the voyage to Ophir. The cargo brought was gold, silver, ivory, apes, and peacocks. We shall try to see if we can identify this unidentified region Ophir. The word 'ophir' is phonetically similar to अभीर in Sanskrit, and it means people who keep cow-herds. We know that Kṛṣṇa is associated with cow-herds. The cargo tallies with the things available in the *Abhīra* region around Dwārakā.

Another striking archæological proof to support the above identification can be cited from an illustrated article in *Geo. Mag. Lond.* Aug. 1943. It says, "30 seals carved in Indian style were found in the city of Ur, and they were 5000 years old" P.176. The photograph of the seals shows a tusked elephant and a bull tied in a manger, the tusk proves that the cargo of ivory came from the Indus delta ports and the bull proves as to how the word 'ophir' lingered long in the *Bible*.

Still another strong archæological proof can be cited to show that the text of the *Gītā* is 5000 years old. In ch. 16.7., the *Gītā* gives the word *Asura* people (जनाः आसुराः असत्यं अप्रति...) It may mean that the *Gītā* is quoting the opinion of the people from the country Asura. (Note :—Like ———— literature, the *Gītā* uses the word *Asura* to signify foreigners and not the word *Yavana*, which is used by Sauti in the *Mahābhārata*. The word *Yavana* is phonetically equivalent with the word Ionia, an old name for Greece. Even now the sea near Greece is called Ionian sea). We know from the *Bible* (*gen.* 10) that Noah had grandson called Assur. It appears that he had created a town in his name in 3000 b.c. For, under the word Assur the *Enc. Br.* says, "It is the name of the ancient capital of Assyria, built on a rocky headland on the west bank of the Tigris, 40 miles above the mouth of the lower Zab. It is first mentioned in

the 46th year of Dungi of Ur 2396 b.c. where the name is written in the Sumerian ideogram 'AUSUR.' It might be argued that this contradicts the statement made above that the town Assur was established in 3000 b.c. But p. 114, *N.G.M.Am.* Jan. 1930 says, "After 600 years of darkness from its heyday in 3000 b.c. Nammu again revived it. This coincides exactly with the statement made. Another interesting point with regard to the word Assur is that while speaking about the sons and grandsons of Noah, the *Bible* suddenly changes to the date 2347 b.c. and gives the age of Noah as 600 when the grandson Assur was born. The 600 years of the darkness in the history of Ur coincides with the absurdity of the age of Noah as a human being.

We have seen that the description of the earth disturbances near Kuru, the flooding of Dwārakā, the vanishing of the Sarasvatī river, the flood deposits below Ur were all simultaneous events 5000 years ago. It can be also shown that Mexico in America in the same latitude as Dwārakā had also been disturbed simultaneously. P. 216, *N.G.M.* August 1939 says, "Maya start their calendar from an event 5000 years ago, which must be of tremendous significance to them." P. 107, *N.G.M.* July 1931, also says that a lava flow 5000 years old buried a Maya cemetery. In the *Mahābhārata* we get the word मयासुर. It is not the intention of the author of this article to prove from this citation that India had contact with America.

Rajeshwara Shāstri of Benares told the author of this article that Swāmī Bhāratī Tīrth had got an information from America that there is a Maya inscription giving the story of a Kaurava who had gone there. How far the statement is authentic is a point not yet investigated.

ART AND OUR CONTRIBUTION TO THE WORLD

By ASIT K. HALDAR.

As soon as the glamour of the Western Civilization subsided after the mid-Victorian age, we gradually began to realize that our Art and culture not only bore distinctive features of their own but had always been inspiring the world beyond. We became close students of our glorious past and. conscious of its heritage. The historians of ancient and mediæval India told us that in those days India was not an isolated country that had always drawn in the horns like the tortoise. References to contacts with the foreigners can be found in the Sanskrit grammar of Pāṇini of the early sixth century B.C. and also in the *Manu-Saṃhitā* where the *Yavanas* who came to the Brahminical India in the remote ages are mentioned. With the discovery of the various sites at Mohenjo-Daro, Chanho-Daro and Harappa in Sind, Paithan, Maski and Ter at Hyderabad-Deccan, the history of ancient India has been pushed back to 3000 B.C. or even earlier. There we come across a distinct type of Vedic Civilization which was very highly developed indeed. The glazed potteries, copper utensils, terra-cotta figurines, beads, stone and glass bangles, architecture, including bath and sanitary system, shows the life that those people lived was never devoid of art or the æsthetic sense. The marvellous seals in terra-cotta reliefs of Mohenjo-Daro display the earliest school of Indo-Aryan sculpture. They can be compared favourably with the animal figures carved out on the capitals of Aśoka's pillar at Sarnath of the third century B.C. Both are treated very naturalistically. Mohenjo-Daro rhinoceros, bulls, tigers were represented almost in a life-like manner. Obviously such a culture could not have been confined within the limits of the area excavated. It spread

itself beyond the Sind. Modern scholars find similarities between the culture of Sind and that of the distant land of Sumeria.

The later Buddhist civilization of India had a great influence over the cultural movement in Asia. We know how pilgrims and pupils would undertake the risky journey across the Himalayas to learn the secret of India's greatness. Along with the Buddhist religion the early Chinese pilgrims took back with them the art of India to the Far East. From the famous Universities of Nālanda, Taxilla, Sarnath and many other ancient monasteries and temples; art, philosophy and literature developed and spread throughout the Asiatic Continent. Learned scholars and artists of China, Japan, Korea, Sumatra, Java and Bali came as pupils and left authentic records of their pilgrimages. Whatever they carried with them were assimilated in their soil. But they also retained the mark of their original spirit as we find so clearly in the Indonesian art of Siam, Cambodia, Java, Bali and Sumatra. The result was that in the Indonesian art of Java we see the great stamp of India's contribution as in Baroboduor sculpture and in Balinese temples in the Thousand Buddha temple sculptures and paintings in Honan, in the Ankor Vat, which is certainly the greatest architectural monument of the world. With the exploration of the Śrī-Devī temple in Cambodia many sculptures of Indian origin have been found. They are preserved in the Bongkok National Museum. They are pre-eminently of the Vaiṣṇava origin. Though the official religion of Khmer was Hinduism, Mahāyāna Buddhist faith which blended peculiarly with the former was tolerated. The earliest Indian influence in art there, could be traced as far back as seventh century, and wave after wave of direct influence by the Indian culture can be perceived subsequently.

In the Chinese Turkisthan in Khotan and Miran the graphic art of India spread and we get examples of paintings on silk still surviving the ravages of time. This also shows the vitality of Indian art. We still wonder how our art-motifs, our technique, our principles of creation could flourish in the foreign lands and after what may be called transplantation in difficult territory.

Naturally such a phenomenon requires explanation. The cultural expansion of India into greater India was mainly due to the spiritual fact that India always tried sincerely to get into the spirit of the cosmic reality and that she was never content with the surface value of life. Our artist-philosophers have always preached the openness of life, though they never understood it in terms of material success. Before the days of Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja there were no restrictions imposed by the caste and creed and people could travel into distant lands to preach the gospel of Buddha. They went to Ceylon, China, Afganisthan wherever they wished to and left their marks in the shape of architecture, sculpture and painting. It will be wrong to consider the culture-contact as a single track journey. India also gained immensely. There are many beautiful things in the art-history of our country which came from outside. We were never weak to discard anything good because it was foreign. We were young, bold, vigorous and expanding. Thus Candra Gupta I could erect a replica of the Persipolitan architecture in his capital Pāṭaliputra. It was a magnificent palace. We still cannot imagine how it was possible to carve and build hundred stone pillared hall with highly glazed surface when steam, gas or electricity were unknown as motive power to do such jobs.

From the Buddhist chronicles we know that Mahendra invaded Ceylon and King Tishya of Ceylon established good relations with India after being initiated in the

Buddhist faith himself. So we see the glorious examples of Indo-Buddhist sculpture and architecture in Anurādhāpura ruins which inspired the later major and minor arts of Ceylon.

I have so far taken examples from ancient India. But it would be wrong to think that India ceased to grow after the downfall of Buddhism. In the time of the Moghul Emperors too Indian art kept up its great traditions and we know that the famous court-artist Bishan Das was specially commissioned by Shah Abbas I in Iran to paint his likeness. In the West artists like Rambrandt, were eager to collect specimens of Moghul miniatures in those days which are still preserved at Schoenbraunn palace in Vienna and at Bodlean Library at Oxford. The Moghuls contributed not only to the art of painting, but also to the architecture of India—the Indo-Saracenic type of which the Tajmahal stands up to this day as one of the greatest architectural monuments of the world. To mention only few of them, the granite mausoleum of Sher Shah at Saseram, Adil Shah's famous mausoleum in Bijapur with largest single dome of the world, Akbar's picturesque Fatehpur and Delhi fort palaces are buildings of which any country can be proud.

After the downfall of the Moghul Empire, the vitality of the country seems to have been reduced. So when India resumed contact with the outside world, the immediate effect was an indifference to, if not a wilful neglect of, her genius. Educated people began to ape foreign manners and reject the traditional values of our art. But by the beginning of this century, Lord Curzon turned the attention of all thinking people to the glory, the beauty and the significance of India's monuments. As yet, the interest was still archæological. It was left to Dr. Abanindra Nath Tagore to raise the level of that interest into one of deep appreciation of the spirit of

Indian culture and along with his disciples, worked through art to achieve that end. And their attempt was indeed successful. Now it was no longer possible to condemn Indian painting as being primitive in its absence of naturalistic rendering through the science of perspective and anatomy. On the other hand, there are evidences to prove that Indian painting, Music and other fine arts have influenced modern Euro-American art as they too have begun to seek primarily idealism rather than naturalism. If the main influence of India on Europe and America in the 19th century came from philosophy, in the 20th century it pours out through Art.

To conclude this hasty survey, every nation has got its own physical and mental features. Art cannot grow without a vigorous life around; it is life that moulds the artform of every country. Therefore, the individual merits and demerits can be adjudged only when we know the process of evolution and achievements of the country's culture. India has her own heritage and the world has profited by it. To-day more than ever, the world should know more about India's legacy and we the dwellers of Hindusthan be possessed by it. For we feel that India's message of peace by a cultivation of the soul which she has so long conveyed through her art and culture has to be learnt by the world, sooner than later. If in the ancient and mediæval times India was the hub of Asiatic culture, in the modern period she has a larger part to play, a greater and much richer contribution to make to the world as a whole. And we are strongly of the opinion that such a contribution will come mainly through India's Fine Arts.

THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE ADHYĀTMARĀMĀYANA*

By Raghuvara Miṭṭhūlāl Shāstrī

नत्वाज-व्यास-तत्पुत्र-शङ्कर-श्रीधरोत्थिताम् । हेमाद्रिवोपदेवाभ्यां मधुसूदनमागताम् ॥
शिवध्यानानुगुण्येन रामानन्दप्रकाशिताम् । परात्मज्ञानपद्धीयाऽनन्यभक्तिपरम्पराम् ॥

अध्यात्मरामायणकर्तृगोचरः कश्चिद् विचारो गमितो वचःपथम् ।
विद्वद्भिरद्यावधि नेति चिन्तया प्रस्तूयतेऽत्रैष मनोहरो मया ॥

The *Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa* is generally believed to be a part of the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*[1] having Vyāsa for its traditional author. But as yet no MS of the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* containing it has been discovered. The printed *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* has got nothing of the *Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa*, not even the *Māhātmya-sarga* which claims to belong to the *Uttara-khaṇḍa* (?) of the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*. The *Nāradīyapurāṇa*,[2] too, in its description of the contents of the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*, makes no mention of the *Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa* or its *Māhātmya*. The late Paṇḍita Jvālāprasada Miśra of Moradabad (U. P.), in his *Aṣṭādaśa-purāṇa-darpaṇa*,[3] mentioned the

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* Paper read in the Sanskrit Section of the All-India Oriental Conference, Benares H. U., on December 31, 1943. For references the Nirnaya Sagar Press (Bombay) text edition may be consulted.

[1] Rājendralal Mitra: *Notices of Skt. MSS* Vol. IV, p. 94 (No. 1501); G. Oppert: *Lists of Skt. MSS in Private Libraries of Southern India*, Vol. II (Madras, 1885), Nos. 4459, 10076, etc.; cf. *Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa, Māhātmya-Sarga*, verse 20, where it is called *Purāṇottama* (best of the Purāṇas), and *Ādi-kāṇḍa*, sarga i, verse 3, where it is praised as *sarva-purāṇa-sammata* (honoured of all the Purāṇas).

[2] I, 109.

[3] Śrīveṅkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay, Saṁvat 1962, p. 414.

Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa as one of the numerous Apocrypha of this *Purāṇa*, of which he has named over 85, and remarked that the majority of them were modern works and that there would remain no quarrel if they were said to belong to the *Upa-* (Minor) *Purāṇa* rather than the *Mahā-* (Major) *Purāṇa* of that name. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, in his *Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism, etc.*,[4] wrote as follows :—

"There is a work, entitled the *Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa*, which Ekanātha [see his *Bhāvārtha-Rāmayaṇa, Āraṇyakāṇḍa*], a Mahārāṣṭra saint, who flourished in the sixteenth century, calls a modern treatise, composed of excerpts from older writings and having no pretence to be considered as emanating from the old Ṛṣis."

Lala Baijnath in the Introduction to his English translation[5] of the *Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa* wrote :—

"The *Adhyātma-Rāmāyaṇa* is a canonical book of the Vaiṣṇavas and is a part of the *Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa*. It is very highly respected by all classes of Hindus for the beauty of its language, its flow of verse, its clear statement of the doctrines of the Vedānta, and like the *Bhagavadgītā*, for its combination of the path of devotion with that of knowledge . . . . . The language of the book though not the simple language of Vālmīki, often rises to eloquence especially in its devotional portions and the sonorous flow of its verse lends it quite a unique charm. Nothing is known of its author or as to who he was or where he flourished. The internal evidence furnished by it however points out to a modern origin, after the system of worship inculcated by the Tantras had come into vogue. So far as one could see from its language and trend of thought it appears to be posterior even to the *Śrīmad-*

[4] *Collected Works of R. G. Bhandarkar*, Vol. IV, p. 67.

[5] In the "*Sacred Books of the Hindus*" (Extra Volume), Panini Office, Allahabad, 1913, p. i.

Bhāgavata, the other canonical work of the Vaiṣṇavite sect, written about the 14th century."

The popular title of the work is *Adhyātma-rāmāyaṇa*[6]; but it calls itself not infrequently by other names[7] as well.

Now, there is a part of the *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa*, called the *Pratiṣargaparvan*, known also to the *Nāradīya-purāṇa*, which describes the contents of all the 18 Major *Purāṇas* in its 18 chapters.[8] But unfortunately I have not as yet come across the original *Pratisargaparvan*. It may or may not be the one noticed by the late Mm. Dr. Haraprasad Śāstrī.[9] The Bombay edition of the *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa*, however, includes the *Kaliyugīyetihāsa-samuccaya* alias *Caturyuga-khaṇḍa* in 4 parts, claiming to include 7000 *Ślokas* (by real counting 5997 verses) in all and, as denoted by its colophons, purporting to belong to the *Pratisarga-parvan*, which is published from a single MS[10] belonging to Ṭhākur Mahān-chandra, Rais of Amritsar (Panjab).

Notwithstanding the question of its genuineness, this pseudepigraphic *Pratisargaparvan*, in places, contains

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[6] In all the colophons: as also in 17 places of its *Māhātmya-sarga* from v. 20 to v. 59; and in three other places of the main work, *viz.*, in I. i. 4, VI. xvi. 41 and 48, besides I. i. 3 and VI. xvi. 35, where it is called *Ādhyātmika-Sañjñita Rāmāyaṇa*.

[7] *Adhyātma-Rāmacarita* in three places, *viz.*, in the *Māhātmya-sarga*, v. 60, and in I. ii. 4 and VI. xvi. 44; simply as *Adhyātma-Rāma* in two places, *viz.*, in I. i. 5 and VII. ix. 72; merely as *Rāmacarita* throughout the whole work in its Tāntrika introductions of individual books as well as of chapters, which, in their beginning, give also the name of *Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa*, the last book, anyhow containing no such *Tāntrika* introductions; and noteworthily *Adhyātmika-Rāma-Saṁhitā* in VI. xvi. 38 and *Adhi-Rāma-Saṁhitā* in VI. xvi. 39,—the word *Saṁhitā* in the last two names justifying Sir Bhandarkar's quotation of Ekanātha's words, "composed of excerpts from older writings . . ."

[8] I. 92—109.

[9] *Catalogue of Skt. MSS*, A.S.B., Vol. V, No. 3738.

[10] Publisher's Notice in Sanskrit, in the beginning of the printed *Pratisargaparvan*; and *Aṣṭādaśa-purāṇa-darpaṇa*, p. 251.

valuable information not available from any other source. As, for instance, it[11] says that Jīvānanda and Rūpānanda became the disciples of Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya of Śāntipurī and came to be honoured by all; and, at his command, Jīva wrote the 6 *Sandarbhas* (sc. of the *Śrīmad-Bhāgavata*), and Rūpa composed the *Kṛṣṇa-Khaṇḍa* of 10,000 (*ślokas*), forming part of the Purāṇa, sitting at his feet and worshipping Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa. Thus, we learn that the real author of the present *Śrīkṛṣṇa-janma-khaṇḍa*, an important part of the *Brahmavaivarta-purāṇa*, was Rūpa-Gosvāmin, and not Vyāsa as is generally believed. This information gets full corroboration from the results of modern research.[12]

Similarly, it tells[13] us that one Rāmaśarman who dwelt at Kāśī was a devout worshipper of Śiva. To him the God appeared on the Śivarātri and was pleased to grant him a boon. The devotee asked for the dwelling in his heart of the Deity on whom Śiva pondered in his

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[11] IV. xix. 33—39.

[12] *Aṣṭādaśa-purāṇa-darpaṇa*, pp. 271—273; and Dr. R. C. Hazra's *Studies in the Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs* (Dacca, 1940), p. 166,—"**The Brahmavaivarta purana.**—This voluminous work, which consists of four parts, *viz.* (I) *Brahma-Kh.*, (II) *Prakṛti-kh.*, (III) *Gaṇapati-Kh.*, and (IV) *Kṛṣṇa-Janma-Kh.*, glorifies Kṛṣṇa and identifies him with the supreme Brahman. It seems to have been meant for preaching the worship of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā . . . . "

"A perusal of the *Brahmavaivarta p.* shows that it is one of the latest of the extant Purāṇic works. Jogesh Chandra Roy has carefully examined this Purāṇa and come to the conclusion that *it was first composed most probably in the 8th century A.D. From about the 10th century it began to be changed by the interfering hands of the Bengal authors who recast it to its present form and contents in the sixteenth century.* In spite of this late recast, there are portions which have been retained from an earlier form of the Purāṇa.

" . . . the Purāṇa with its present contents was not known to the writers of even the sixteenth century A.D., and that all the Smṛti-chapters, except IV, 8 and 26, are very late additions": and p. 167,—" . . . it seems highly probable that before 700 A.D. there existed a *Brahmavaivarta* which is now lost."

[13] IV. xix. 21—32.

meditations. Śiva gave him the meditation on Rāma-Lakṣmaṇa and worship of Balabhadra and then disappeared. He (the devotee) was (became) Rāmānanda[14] (*lit.*, one exulting in Rāma), and coming to Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya of 12 years' age became his disciple; and, at the latter's instance, he composed the auspicious *Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa*.

Divested of its figmentary element, the story means that Rāmānanda of Kāśī, immediately after his conversion from Śaivism to Vaiṣṇavism and before instituting his own sect of Rāmānandīya Vaiṣṇavas, composed the *Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa*. His going to Caitanya or becoming the latter's disciple is a pure invention typical of the comparatively modern author of the 4th *Khaṇḍa* of the present *Pratisargapravan*, who, to all intents and purpose, was writing everything only to glorify Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya. Reading this *Khaṇḍa* closely, one finds that every now and then a religious teacher or author of note is made to pay a visit to Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya[15] at Śāntipur[15a]-Nadīhā (*i.e.*, Nadia in Bengal) in a certain year of the latter's life and, in the capacity of his disciple, to take orders from him, irrespective of the fact that the two could be contemporaries or not.

Thus, from this as well as from Ekanātha's evidence, we come to know that the *Adhyātma-rāmāyaṇa* was

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[14] Evidently, the reading '*Rāmānandasya*' (xix. 31), which gives no sense in the present context, is a printer's devil for '*Rāmānandas-sa*'; cf. *Viṣṇusvāmī-sa* (xix. 40), *Jayadevas-sa* (xix. 46), *Bhaṭṭojis-sa* (xx. 1). *Rāmānujas-sa* (xiv. 87), etc.

[15] Iśvara [Purī, vii. 31—34], xix. 6—13; Ropaṇa, xix. 2—4 and xx. 65-66; Śrīdhara [Svāmin], xix. 14—20; Viṣṇu-Svāmin, xix. 40—47; Madhvācārya, xix. 48—66, Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, xx. 1—10; Varāhamihira, xx. 11—21; Vāṇībhūṣaṇa, xx. 22—35; Dhanvantari, xx. 36—45; Jayadeva, xx. 46—62, etc. For Yajñāṁśa Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya, see also ix. 66; x, particularly 32-33; the last part of xx; xxi. 1, (2—35,) 36-37, 38—44, 51, 80; xxii. 5, 48—50; xxiii. 18, 76; and xxiv. 59—61.

[15a] iv. 24; vi. 61; xvii. 88 and xxi. 37; xix. 7, 20, 33, 40, 48; xxi. 77; xxii. 5, 50; and xxiv. 59.

not a part of the *Brahmāṇḍa* or any other *Purāṇa* written by Vyāsa or was not the work of any other Ṛṣi of ancient times, but is a comparatively modern work, and, from this single source, that its author was one Rāmaśarman or Rāmānanda, who lived at Kāśī and formerly worshipped Śiva and latterly became a Rāmaite Vaiṣṇava.

But how, it might be asked, can, in view of the fact that there were more than one Rāmānanda, the authorship of this work be ascribed to the great Vaiṣṇava teacher and not to anyone else from amongst his namesakes? Besides one Rāmānanda [Rāya], a follower of Caitanya himself, nine others are mentioned by T. Aufrecht.[16] The reply would be that we cannot think of Caitanya's Rāmānanda who was an Oṛiyā Kṛṣṇaite[16a] and not a Rāmaite Vaiṣṇava Brāhmaṇa of Kāśī; and all others, too, should be rejected on account of the clear indication in this part of the *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa* as well as in the life of the great Vaiṣṇava Ācārya that none else can be connected with the origin of the work in question.

In connection with Rāmānanda's birth this *Khaṇḍa* (IV)[17] tells us that the Sun-god concentrated His mass of lustre at Kāśī and therefrom was Rāmānanda born of Devala, a Kānyakubja Brāhmaṇa. The boy, from his very infancy, was a *jñānin* (sage) devoted to the name of Rāma; and, (therefore) being left by his parents, he resorted to Rāghava (meaning Rāma as well as Rāghavānanda Svāmin) as his refuge. Then, Lord Hari, the Lord of Sītā, having 14 digits, Himself, gladly adopted residence in his heart. It[18] also says something about the leanings of Rāmānanda towards the Śāṅkara school of

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[16] *Catalogorus Catalogorum*, pp. 520-521.

[16a] Originally hailing from Vidyānagara in Central India (see D. C. Sen: *Chaitanya and His Companions*, pp. 89—100).

[17] vii. 52—56.

[18] (1) xiv. 87—118, and (2) xviii. 53—55.

Philosophy in two places. (i) Rāmānuja was born in the house of Ācāryaśarman of the South and was a younger brother of Rāmaśarman. The latter who was a follower of Patañjali, *i.e.*, a Yogin, happened, in connection with pilgrimage, to come to Kāśī, where surrounded by his 100 disciples he started a discussion with Śaṅkarācārya. Defeated by the latter he returned home, full of shame and feeling the pinch of (insult inflicted by) Śaṅkara's words. Rāmānuja who was well versed in all the śāstras, came to Kāśī, surrounded by the disciples of his brother; and a discussion in the Vedānta-śāstra ensued between him advocating Kṛṣṇa and Śaṅkara pleading for Śiva. Śaṅkara was defeated by Rāmānuja in all the śāstras on whichever he took his stand one after another, *viz.*, in the Vedānta, Bhāṣya, Mīmāṁsā, Nyāya, Yoga and Sāṅkhya; and ultimately being ashamed he adopted white garment and, becoming a disciple of Rāmānuja, was purified by muttering the name of 'Govinda' in his heart. The above story, a pure myth coined by the author, if it means anything, only shows the triumph of *Kṛṣṇa-bhakti* over the Advaita Philosophy of Śaṅkarācārya to which even Rāma śarman or Rāmānanda, though himself a great advocate of *Bhakti* and claimed by his sect to have owned an older tradition of Vaiṣṇava Ācāryas (all of whom originally belonged to the South) than Rāmānuja's, had simply to yield. (2) Raidāsa, son of Mānadāsa, a cobbler, coming to Kāśī and there defeating Kabīra, a devotee of Rāma, went to Śaṅkarācārya for a discussion, which took place between them for a whole day and night. Raidāsa, being defeated by and paying obeisance to that leader of the Brāhmaṇas (*i.e.*, Śaṅkarācārya), came to Rāmānanda and became his disciple. This story, too, like the previous one, proves greater affinities of Rāmānada with the Vedānta of Śaṅkarācārya than with any other form of it preached by the Vaiṣṇava Ācāryas.

The description of Rāmānanda in many other places of this *Khaṇḍa*, unmistakably establishes his identity. Trilocana,[19] Nāmadeva[20] who constructed a *ghāt* at Kāśī with ½ crore of coins he got from Sikandara the Sultān of Delhi, and Naraśrī (Narasī or Narasiṁha Mehtā) of Gurjaradeśa[21] are described as coming to Kāśī and there becoming the disciples of Rāmānanda. Similarly, Rāmānanda is said to be the preceptor of Raṅkaṇa,[22] Kabīra[23] whose disciple was the butcher Sadhana[24], Pīpā[25] and Nānaka[26]. Like Nimbāditya (Nimbārka), Viṣṇusvāmin, Madhvācārya, Śaṅkarācārya, Varāhamihira, Vāṇībhūṣaṇa, Dhanvantari, Bhaṭṭoji, Ropaṇa and Jayadeva respectively at Kāñcī, Haridvāra, Mathurā, Kāśī, Ujjayinī, Kānyakubja, Prayāga, Utpalāraṇya, Iṣṭikā (? Etawah), and Dvārakā, a disciple of our Rāmānanda at Ayodhyā is said to have upset the *Yantra* originally set up at 7 religious cities and perhaps later on fixed also at every one of the above-mentioned towns by Sukandara, the king of Mlecchas, for converting the Āryas who happened to pass under it into Mlecchas, and, thus, to have brought back such people to the Hindu fold.[27] And in this connection the followers of Rāmānanda and Nimbāditya are said to have been of two kinds,—(1) Āryas who were the chief followers called *Vaiṣṇavas* and (2) Mleccha reconverts to Hinduism who were called *Saṁyogins*.[28] Again, from amongst the

[19] xv. 64—67.
[20] xvi. 51—55; xx. 64-65.
[21] xvii. 60—66.
[22] xvi. 81.
[23] xvii. 40.
[24] xviii. 50-51.
[25] xvii. 83-85.
[26] *Ibid.*, 86-87.
[27] xxi. 45—75.
[28] *Ibid.*, 54-55 and 58.

20 disciples of Mukunda Brahmacārin, while, after their self-immolation and rebirth with their preceptor reincarnated as Emperor Akbar[29], 7 of them adorned the latter's court[30] and 13 went to different places,[31] there were 5 who are said to have joined the sect of Rāmānanda. Thus (1) Śrīdhara was born as Anapa's son, Tulasīśarman, the renowned poet, well-versed in the Purāṇas, who, accepting the advice of his wife, came to Rāghavānanda and, assuming the discipleship in the sect of Rāmānanda, settled at Kāśī[32]; (3) Śambhu was born as Haripriya (*lit.*, dear to Hari) in the race of Candrabhaṭṭa and established himself in the sect of Rāmānanda, always singing the praises of the devotees[33]; (4) Vareṇya was born as Agrabhuk (perhaps the same as Svāmī Agradāsa), always engaged in knowledge and meditation, who was a poet of *Bhāṣā* metres and got settled in the sect of Rāmānanda[34]; (5) Madhuvratin was born as Kīlaka, who instituted (or wrote) *Rāmalīlā* and got settled in Rāmānanda's sect[35]; and (6) Vimala was born as Divākara by name who, wise as he was, instituted (or wrote) *Sītālīlā* and got settled in Rāmānanda's sect[36].

According to Macauliffe (*Sikh*, VI, p. 100), Rāmānanda was born at Mailkot in Mysore. Similarly, in J. N. Farquhar's opinion Rāmānanda originally belonged to the South and "migrated to North India about A.D. 1400(?) and there preached to men of all castes using the

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[29] xxii. 9—17.

[30] *Ibid.*, 20—26.

[31] *Ibid.*, 27.

[32] *Ibid.*, 27—29. The second disciple did not belong to Rāmānanda's sect.

[33] *Ibid.*, 30-31.

[34] *Ibid.*, 31-32.

[35] *Ibid.*, 32-33.

[36] *Ibid.*, 33-34.

Vernacular in every thing.''[37] All other accounts agree in fixing his birth-place at Prayāga, wherefrom he, at an early age, went to Kāśī and settled there.[38] Dr. P. D. Barthwal writes as follows :—

" . . . . According to *Bhaviṣyottara-khaṇḍa*, a later addendum to the *Agastya-Saṁhitā* . . . Rāmānanda was born at Allahabad in 1299 A.D. and died in 1410 . . . . Rāmānanda is said to have first received instruction from a Śaṅkaran Advaitist but was later transferred to Rāghavānanda, the Rāmānujan Viśiṣṭādvaitist, whose miraculous Yogic powers are said to have saved him from impending death. *Siddhānta-paṭala*, a small work attributed to Rāmānanda and represented to have been addressed to him by Rāghavānanda, evinces a perfect commingling of Yoga and Vaiṣṇavism; and the ashes, the burning fire, the *trikuṭī* are mentioned in it side by side with Basil (*tulasī*) and Śālagrāma.[39]

" . . . . Rāmānanda . . . is said to have come of a high Brāhmaṇa family of Prayāga. He was educated at Benares, his favourite subject being the Śaṅkaran Advaitic Philosophy. But he received the orders of renunciation at the hands of Rāghavānanda, a Viśiṣṭādvaitin saint in the direct descent of Rāmānuja's discipleship, who is said to have saved his life through his occult powers.[40]

"Rāghavānanda was a great Yogin who is reputed to have saved Rāmānanda's life through his Yogic powers . . . Rāmānanda is himself reputed in his sect to have been a

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[37] *The Crown of Hinduism*, p. 387; see also *Outlines of the Religious Literature of India*, p. 324.

[38] Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, quoting from a MS of the *Agastya-saṁhitā* in his *Saivism, Vaiṣṇavism, etc.*, pp. 93—95; Dr. P. D. Barthwal in his *Nirguṇa School of Hindi Poetry*, p. 249; Shāligrāma Shrīvāstava in his *Prayāga-pradīpa*, p. 30.

[39] Barthwal: *Nirguṇa School of Hindi Poetry*, p. 249.

[40] *Ibid.*, p. 12.

great Yogin. The two currents [sc., spiritual realisation and 'Yogic practices as a help to spiritual realisation' (p. 196)] thus met in Rāmānanda.[41] . . . .

"It was in Rāmānanda that Nāthism and Vaiṣṇavism discernibly met. [In support of this *Siddhānta-paṭala* . . . may be cited in which Vaiṣṇava Śāligrāṃa is enthroned in the Yoga *Trikuṭī*.][42]

"Rāmānanda prescribed the Śālagrāma for exactly the same purpose.[43]

"In what of the *Aikāntika-dharma* came to Rāmānanda, *Premā-Bhakti* was considered the crowning of all the nine aspects of *Bhakti* and was therefore called the *Daśadhā Bhakti*.[44]

" . . . *Premā-Bhakti* and *Adhyātma-vidyā* appear to be the two sides of the same shield . . . And for this they are directly indebted to Rāmānanda.[45]

" . . . Still Śāṅkarism did influence the general thought of the people and in the end penetrated the Vaiṣṇava fold itself . . . . In North India Advaita and Viśiṣṭādvaita lost its acrimony and the Advaita *Guru* of Rāmānanda gave his illustrious disciple to Rāghavānanda, the Viśiṣṭādvaitin, who had saved the boy's life through his Yogic powers. The change of masters does not appear to have involved a break with the principles of philosophy that Rāmānanda devotedly learnt during his early years. He seems to have adopted the Vaiṣṇava *Bhakti* only to fit it into the Advaita system of Śaṅkarācārya. The rupture that he had with the sect of his new *Guru* must have some connection with his philosophic leanings also. Thus did monistic pantheism and the

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[41] *Ibid.*, p. 197.
[42] *Ibid.*, Preface, p. vi, text and footnote 1.
[43] *Ibid.*, p. 70.
[44] *Ibid.*, Preface, p. vii.
[45] *Ibid.*, p. viii.

love of a personal God, the essential characteristic of Vaiṣṇavism, join hands in Rāmānanda."[46]

Mr. Shāligrāma Shrīvastava writes as follows: "In his (*i.e.*, Alāuddīn Khiljī's) reign, about 1300 A.D., was born at Prayāga the famous Vaiṣṇava Ācārya Svāmī Rāmānanda, who afterwards went to Kāśī and becoming an ascetic settled there;" and again, in the footnote, "He was a Kānyakubja Brāhmaṇa. His previous name was Rāmadatta. Receiving ordinary education, at the age of 12 years he went to Kāśī for special higher studies."[47]

From the above account of his life it will be amply made clear that the author of the *Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa* could be no other person than the great Vaiṣṇava Ācārya Rāmānanda, and that it is he who, in the Bombay edition of the *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa*, is described both as Rāmaśarman as well as Rāmānanda and both as living at Kāśī as well as coming from the South like Rāmānuja. The readers have to take the implied meaning of the descriptions of this *Purāṇa-khaṇḍa* rather than its words at their face value.

Now, among the later *Upaniṣads* there is one called the *Rāmatāpanīya* or *Rāmatāpa* (? *pi*)*nī*. Unlike the *Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa*, which, perhaps owing to its blending of the *Advaita Vedānta*, the former creed of their teacher, with *Rāmabhakti*, was ignored by the majority of Rāmānanda's followers, this *Upaniṣad* has always been specially sacred to the Rāmānandīya Vaiṣṇavas. About it Weber wrote as follows:—

"The first part, in 95 *ślokas*, contains at the beginning a short sketch of Rāma's life, which bears a great similarity to that at the beginning of the *Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa* (in the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*). The *mantrarāja* is

[46] *Ibid.*, p. 196.

[47] *Prayāga-pradīpa* (in Hindi), p. 30.

next taught by the help of a mystical alphabet specially invented for the purpose."[48] And again:—"But further, the *Rāmatāpanī* displays still closer relations to Rāmānanda, who is supposed to have lived towards the end of the 14th century."[49]

Again, in Gadādhara's *Sampradāya-pradīpa*,[50] a MS work in praise of Vallabhācārya and his sect, we are told[51] that 'From Vidyānagara, Vallabha proceeded to Prayāga, Kāśī and Badarikāśrama. At Badarikāśrama Vyāsa appeared before him and granted him the boon of Omniscience. Vallabha came to Haridvāra and thence to Kurukṣetra. There he became the guest at Thāneśvara of Rāmānanda who worshipped Viṣṇu according to the Tāntrika system. He was the worshipper of the stone Śālagrāma. Vallabha remonstrated with him saying that the stone is merely a temple. You should worship the image of Kṛṣṇa. He did not agree, but his brother Śaṅkara agreed and became a disciple of Prabhupāda under the name of Prabhudāsa. Vallabha came to Benares . . . '; and also that 'His chief disciples at Dvārakā were · Nārāyaṇa Dvivedī and Acyutāśrama. Rāṇā Vyāsa was at first a disciple of Rāmananda, but he at last became a disciple of Vallabha at Purī.'

Allowing a fair margin to the fanatic proclivities of sectarian authors not always caring about the limitations of time and space, we may safely infer that it is our Rāmānanda or one of his followers who is meant here. This is another proof of his Tāntrika or Yogic and

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48 *History of Indian Literature* (4th edition, 1904, London), p. 168.

49 *Ibid.*, p. 190, footnote.

50 Mm. Haraprasād Śāstrī's *A Descriptive Catalogue of Skt. MSS* in the Govt. College under the care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. IV (*History and Geography*, Calcutta, 1923), pp. 98 ff.

51 *Ibid.*, pp. 102 and 103.

Śaṅkarite leanings which get their full expression in his *Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa*. The contact between the *Rāmatāpanī* and the *Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa*, which is only hinted by Weber, can be amplified by a detailed comparison of both these works. And surveying other minor *Upaniṣads* in the light of the tenets of the Rāmānandīya sect one cannot resist the conclusion that not only the above-mentioned two works but also some other *Upaniṣads*, *e.g.*, *Sītā*, *Advāyatāraka*, *Rāmarahasya* and perhaps even the well-known *Muktikā*, are to be associated with Rāmānanda's faith.

It appears that as time went on and as the sect grew, limiting itself to the principles expounded in its Hindi literature, it, not only gradually lost its touch with but also, in its sectarian zeal, developed an indifference towards the *Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa*, the best Sanskrit work of Rāmānanda; just as, in later times, it began to repudiate its connection with Rāmānuja's sect. To me, however, it appears a correct view that the great Ācārya Rāmānanda represented a practically harmonious combination and perhaps the best possible synthesis of the philosophies of Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja in their application to *Rāmopāsanā*.

The sect now claims, on the authority of Svāmī Agradāsa, pupil of Payāhārī Kṛṣṇadāsa, pupil of Aanatānanda, pupil of the illustrious Rāmānanda, that Rāghavānanda, whose disciple their great Ācārya was, did not belong to the Viśiṣṭādvaita school of Rāmānuja descended in the line of Nara-Nārāyaṇa, but came in the direct spiritual descent of Srī-Rāma, Jānakī, Hanumān, Brahmā, Vaśiṣṭha, Parāśara, Vedavyāsa, Śuka, etc., representing the real and original Śrī-Sampradāya.[52] It

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[52] *Dhyāna-mañjarī* by Svāmī Agradāsa (Ayodhyā, Saṁvat 1997), p. 12; *Śrī-Rāma-mantra-parama-Vaidika-Siddhānta* by Pt. Sarayūdāsa (Ayodhyā), pp. 29—32, 52 and 121.

may, however, be pointed out that besides the first three names peculiar to this sect, which the *Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa* also accepts,[53] the remaining five,—after which there is a big gap up to the name of Puruṣottamācārya [followed by three names ending in *Ācārya* and 15 in *Ānanda*, besides three others of the latter variety],—in this *Guru-paramparā* (line of teachers) are exactly identical with those in that of Śaṅkarācārya's school, with the exclusion of only two names, *viz.*, Nārāyaṇa before Brahmā (*Padmabhava*), and Śakti between Vaśiṣṭha and Parāśara, from the latter.[54] Again, like the latter, it also contains a large number of names of teachers ending in *ānanda*. Whether the gap, too, represented the continuity of Śaṅkarācārya's *Guru-paramparā* or not needs no discussion; because the identity of the five names and similar ending in the majority of others in these two traditions suffice to prove that Rāmānandīya Vaiṣṇavism,—which unlike the Rāmānujīya one, not only is tolerant of Śiva and all that He represents but also pays special respects to Him for His being the ideal torch-bearer of *Rāmà-bhakti*,—originated from the Advaita school of Śaṅkarā-cārya for laying special emphasis on the highest devotion to Rāma,—just like the school of Advaita Bhaktas, represented by Śrīdhara Svāmin, Vopadeva-Hemādri, Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, etc. laying special emphasis on *Kṛṣṇa-Bhakti*,—as an essential accessory to knowledge leading to *mokṣa*. Rāmānanda composed the *Adhyātma-rāmāyaṇa* to suit the same purpose of the Rāma-bhaktas

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[53] I. i. 25, 29—31, 52, 54; and VI. xvi. 6—17; and perhaps also suggested in V. v. 60—64.

[54] Cf. नारायणं पद्मभवं वसिष्ठं शक्तिं च तत्पुत्रपराशरं च ।
व्यासं शुकं गौडपदं महान्तं गोविन्दयोगीन्द्रमथास्य शिष्यम् ॥
श्रीशङ्कराचार्यमथास्य पद्म-पादं च हस्तामलकं च शिष्यम् ।
तं त्रोटकं वार्तिककारमन्यानस्मद्गुरून् सन्ततमानतोऽस्मि ॥

as was served by the *Śrīmad-Bhāgavata-mahāpurāṇa* in case of the Kṛṣṇa-bhaktas of the said school.[55] Rāmānanda had drunk deep at the nectar-ocean of the latter work which he freely drew upon in writing his *Adhyātma-rāmāyaṇa*, as is clear from the numerous contacts between these two works.[56] I intend to do full justice to this point in a separate paper. L. Baijnath has wrongly assigned the 14th century to the *Śrīmad-Bhāgavata*, whose date[57] according to modern research varies from the 6th down to the 11th, but in no case to a later, century.

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[55] Cf. Jīva Gosvāmin's *Tattva-sandarbha* (the first of his 6 *Bhāgavata-Sandarbhas*), published by Nityasvarūpa Brahmacārin (Calcutta, Caitanya era 433), pp. 67-68 and 76—78, referring to works on Advaitavādins' interpretation of the *Bhāgavata* prevalent in the Madhyadeśa, etc., and especially to Śrīdhara Svāmin's commentary under the same category.

[56] *A R.*, III. iv; IV. iv; etc., with *Ś Bh.*, XI, iii; xi; etc.; and especially *AR*, VII. vii. 60—80 with *Ś Bh.*, III. xxix. 7—27 and 34-35. The author of the *AR* was perhaps also well-acquainted with Vopadeva's *Muktāphala*, which has ever since remained a source of inspiration to the writers of various schools of *Bhakti*: cf. *Susiddhāntottama* of Priyādāsa, *Bhaktiratnāvali* of the Maithila Saint Viṣṇupuri of Kāśī, and the works of Madhusūdana Sasrasvatī, and-the authors of Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava school, Jīva Gosvāmin, Baladeva, etc.

[57] Wilson, Macdonell, Colebrooke and Burnouf who placed the *Bhāgavata* in the 13th century A.C. have now become out-of-date, in view of the following results:—

(1) Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, in his *Śaivism, etc.*, (*op. cit.*, pp. 68-69), fixes the date of the *Bhāgavata* 'at least two centuries before Ānandatīrtha' who flourished 'about 1199—1278 A.D.' and further says, "It cannot be very much older."

(2) *Alberuni's India* [see *Sachau*, Vol. I (1910), Ch. XII, p. 131] contains the name of the "*Bhāgavata* (*i.e.*, *Vāsudeva*)" which unmistakably refers to the work in question, in Alberuni's list of the [Mahā-] Purāṇas, proving that it is much older than the 11th century.

(3) C. V. Vaidya, in *JBBRAS*, 1925, pp. 144, etc., dates it in the 10th century. See also Farquhar: *Outlines of the Religious Literature of India* pp. 229, etc.; Winternitz: *Indian Literature*, Vol. I, p. 556; etc.; placing it not earlier than the 9th century.

There are indications in the *Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa* itself, which, as internal evidence, may be adduced to prove that its author was no other than our Rāmānanda. In spite of the fact that Śiva[58] and Brahmā[59] are said to have respectively described to Pārvatī [and Brahmā] and Nārada the original *Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa* and its *Māhātmya* (importance), limiting the same to their respective spheres, *Kailāsa*[60] and *Satyaloka*[61], the work in its present tangible form had still to emerge and become prevalent, at a distant future[62] time, in the world of mortals[63] through a human author whose personality finds its expression, though perhaps unintentionally, in

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(4) Pargiter in his *A. I. H. Tradition*, p. 80 dates the *Bhāgavata* "about the 9th century."

(5) Durgashanker Sastri, in *Bhāratīya-Vidyā*, II, pp. 129-139 is dating it 'not before the 8th century.'

(6) Dr. R. C. Hazra in his *Studies in the Purāṇic Records, etc.*, pp. 54-55, has decided that 'the *Bhāgavata* cannot possibly be later than 800 A.D.' or 'earlier than about 500 A.D.'; and says that it is highly probable that it was composed in the former half of the 6th century.

(7) Mr. Amaranatha Ray, in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* (London), VIII, pp. 107 ff. and *Journal of the Assam Research Society*, II, iii, has arrived at the conclusion that the *Bhāgavata* is to be assigned to the period between 550 and 650 A.D. and more probably to the first half of the 6th century.

(8) Mr. B. N. K. Sarma, in *ABORI*, XIV, pp. 182, etc., comes to almost the same conclusion and (on pp. 216-17) adds that owing to the mention of the Tamil Vaiṣṇava saints (XI. v. 38—40) and Hūna devotees (II. iv. 18 and vii. 46) in it, the *Bhāgavata* cannot be earlier than the last quarter of the 5th century A.D.

58 *Māhātmyasarga*, vv. 18—21, (28, 46); I. i. 5—17, 25, 53; ii. 1—5; VI. xvi. 35, 49; VII. ix. 68, 70-71.

59 *M -sarga*, vv. 2—6, 17-18, 27-28, 36, 46-47, 59-60.

60 I. i. 6.

61 *M.-sarga*, vv. 2—4.

62 *Ibid.*, vv. 21—26.

63 *Ibid.*, vv. 21—26, 47, 60.

several places in the text. This human author has twice[64] paid his devotional obeisance to the Lord of Jānakī or Sītā even before introducing the occasion[65] for a dialogue between Śiva and His Consort, Pārvatī. It is he who in three verses[66] describes the importance of this work in its beginning. Again, it is he who, at the end of Book VI, though incongruously putting it in the mouth of Śiva, tells us that[67] the latter briefly related this essence of all the Vedas (*i.e.*, the *Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa*) to His Consort (*i.e.*, Pārvatī). The commentator (Rāmavarman-*cum*-Nāgeśa) rightly discerned the incongruity and consequently though not very reasonably remarked that a pupil of Śiva (who, according to the editor's footnote, was also hearing the story of Rāma being propounded to Pārvatī on the Kailāśa mountain) was responsible for the present stanza, *i.e.*, VI. xvi. 49 (and not Śiva Himself as the context would force). Again, in several places, our human author over-emphasises the fact that a certain part of the teaching of this work was directly[68] due to Rāma or Śiva as the case might be, meaning thereby that the reader should not suspect it to have come from a human author and consequently doubt its authoritativeness or hesitate to believe in it. More direct references are also found in the work leading to the conclusion that this human author could be nc other person than our Rāmānanda. They consist in the mention of the [*Rāma-*] *Tāraka-mantra*,[69] nine-fold devotion as a means to

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[64] I. i. 1 and 2.

[65] I. i. 6 ff.

[66] I. i. 3–5:

[67] VI. xvi. 49.

[68] I. i. 52; IV. iv. 40; VII. v. 59, 62; also I. i. 54; IV. iii. 31–33, 35-36; etc.

[69] III. ix. 50—52; VI. xv. 62; VI. xvi. 49, etc.

Premā-bhakti[70] causing liberation, *Śālagrāma*,[71] *Agastya-saṁhitā*,[72] typical *Gurubhakti*,[73] etc., together with the covert references to Rāghavānanda and Rāmānanda. In one place[74] it is said that Maheśvara at the instance of Rāghava made the present episode (*i.e.*, composed the *Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa*). Here, by a paronomastic use, the word *Rāghava* is intended to primarily denote Rāma and secondarily suggest Rāghavānanda Svāmin; and similarly, Maheśvara, Rāma's devotee *par excellence*, disseminating Rāma's name at Kāśī,[75] is Śiva as well as our Rāmānanda. 'Rāmānanda' = Rama + 'ānanda' (or even '*Ra*' + '*mā*' + '*ānanda*' or '*nanda*'), as the constant burthen of the poem and more or less something like a *nom-de-plume*, appears throughout the work. The word in its unbroken form is used once only,[76] but as broken in parts it occurs about 80 times at least, sometimes in one and the same verse[77] and sometimes in the different verses.[78] Such a strange phenomenon could not be accidental; inasmuch as the use of the word '*ānanda*' in close juxtaposition with *Rāma* is not met with in any other similar work on such a

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70 III. x. 22—30, etc.

71 *M.-sarga*, v. 54; IV. iv. 14—17, etc.

72 IV. iv. 29, 31; etc.

73 IV. iv. 16.

74 VII. ix. 70.

75 III. ix. 50—52; VI. xv. 62.

76 VI. xii. 22.

77 I. i. 17, 32, 43; v. 44; vii. 57; II. i. 32; iii. 1, 80; iv, 87; vi. 47; viii. 37: ix. 68; V. iii. 37; VI. v. 86; xiii. 17, 24, 25, 26, 28; xiv. 64, 66; VII. i. 2; ii. 1; v. 43, 60; vii. 82; viii. 2; ix. 45, 48, 53.

78 *Māhātmya-sarga*, vv. 20-21; I. i. 5-6, 23-24, 31—33; ii. 4—7, 15—21; iii. 29—35, 54—58, 58—61; vi. 42-43; II. v. 59-60, 64-65, vi. 45—47; vii. 94—106; ix. 3-4; III. iv. 35—40; viii. 18-19, 20—22; VI. i. 75—79—83; iii. 31—36; V. i. 1-2; iv. 19—23, 20—24; VI. i. 50-51; v. 85-86; x. 40—42, 58-59; xi. 48-49; xiii. 16-17, 27—30, 28—31: xiv. 55—59; xv. 2—5, 27-28, 68-69; xvi. 17-18, 27-28, 29-30; VII. iii. 3—9, 26—28; iv. 34-35; vii. 54-55; ix. 58—68; etc.; etc.

lavish scale, notwithstanding the word Rāma, which, in a work of the present category, is, of course, expected to occur very frequently.

Tulasīdāsa, the morning star of the Rāmānandī sect, has made a free use of the *Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa* in his *Rāmacarita-mānasa*. The contacts between these two works are too well known and too numerous to note down in short compass of the present paper that has already grown rather lengthy. Besides them certain passages in the latter work also prove his indebtedness to and yet his partial departure from and indifference towards the peculiar message of this most important work of the *parama-guru* of his sect. In the *Bāla-kāṇḍa*, Tulasīdāsa says, "Śiva composed this charming *Rāma-carita* and afterwards kindly described it to Umā . . . . Lastly, I heard the same *Kathā* from my own preceptor at *Śūkara-kṣetra* (*i.e.*, Soron, Dist. Etah, U. P.); but, owing to my exceedingly unawakened nature typical of early age, I could hardly follow it. The *Kathā* (story) of Rāma, whose exponents as well as audience were always receptacles of knowledge, was too deep for me, an ignorant soul, to understand. When my preceptor told me the same repeatedly, I could pick it up but partly or imperfectly. I will write the same in popular language, so that it may awaken my mind. In proportion to my own approach, I will, led at heart by the Lord, describe that *Kathā* which is the boat to sail on the river of transmigration (or world) and which is calculated to remove my doubt, delusion and misconception."[79]

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[79] शम्भु कीन्ह यह चरित सुहावा । बहुरि कृपा करि उमहिं सुनावा ॥ (cf. footnote 58)
मैं पुनि निज गुरु सन सुनी, कथा सुसूकर-खेत ।
समुझी नहिं तस बालपन, तब अति रहेउ अचेत ॥
श्रोता वक्ता ज्ञाननिधि, कथा राम की गूढ ।
किमि समुझौं मैं जीव जड, कलिमल ग्रसित विमूढ ॥
यदपि कही गुरु बारहिं बारा । समुझि परी कछु मति अनुसारा ॥

Now, there is no Sanskrit work which can claim to answer this description better than the *Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa*, the *Rāma-kathā* also forming the subject of some sections of certain *Purāṇas* and the *Mahābhārata* besides the *Vālmīkīya Rāmāyaṇa*. Again, in the *Uttara-kāṇḍa*, in course of the dialogue between *Kāka-Bhuśuṇḍi* and *Garuḍa*, Tulasīdāsa has expressed his own[79a] and perhaps to a great extent his sect's feeling that the *Saguṇa-bhakti-pakṣa*, being easier to practise and surer in yielding the desired fruit, though very rarely understood, is superior to the *Nirguṇa-bhakti-jñāna-pakṣa*, which he does not denounce or reject but admits to be most difficult for an aspirant to follow.[80] Rāmānanda, as is

भाषाबद्ध करब मैं सोई । मोरे मन प्रबोध जेहि होई ॥
जस कछु बुधि विवेक बल मोरे । तस कहिहउं हिय हरि के प्रेरे ॥
निज सन्देह मोह भ्रम हरनी । करउं कथा भव-सरिता-तरनी ॥
(cf Kāka-Bhuśuṇḍi to Garuḍa, in the Uttara-kāṇḍa:—
गएउ मोर सन्देह......; मोहिं भएउ अति मोह......;
निर्गुन रूप सुलभ अति, सगुन जानै कोय ।
सुगम अगम नाना चरित, सुनि मुनि-मन भ्रम होय ॥......
जेहि विधि मोह भएउ प्रभु मोहीं......; and Rāma to Kāka-Bhuśuṇḍi:—
मायासम्भव सकल भ्रम, अब नहिं व्यापहिं तोहिं ॥)
See also--रामचरितमानस मुनिभावन । विरचेउ शम्भु सुहावन पावन ॥......
रचि महेश निज मानस राखा । पाय सुसमय शिवा सन भाखा ॥
ताते राम-चरित-मानस वर । धरेउ नाम हिय हेरि हर्षि हर ॥
कहउं कथा सोइ सुखद सुहाई । सादर सुनहु सुजन मन लाई ॥

79a Mark the underlined portions of footnotes 79 and 80.

80 Kāka-Bhuśuṇḍi says to Garuḍa—
प्रथम जन्म के चरित अब......;......चरमदेह द्विजकर मैं पाई ।......
जेहि पूछउ सो मुनि अस कहई । ईश्वर सर्वभूतमय अहई ॥
निर्गुणमत नहिं मोहिं सुहाई । सगुण-ब्रह्म-रति उर अधिकाई ॥......
मुनि लोमश......लागे करन ब्रह्म उपदेशा । अज अद्वैत अगुण हृदयेशा ॥ . ...
सो तैं तोहि ताहि नहिं भेदा । वारि-वीचि-इव गावहिं वेदा ॥
विविध भांति मोहिं मुनि समुझावा । निर्गुण मत मम हृदय न आवा ॥......
पुनि मैं कहेउं नाय पद सीसा । सगुण उपासन कहहु मुनीसा ॥......
भरि लोचन विलोकि अवधेसा । तब सुनिहउं निर्गुण उपदेसा ॥
पुनि मुनि कह हरिकथा अनूपा । खण्डि सगुण मत अगुण निरूपा ॥......

decisively proved by Dr. P. D. Barthwal and as may also be inferred from the *Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa*, preached both the *Saguṇa* and *Nirguṇa* paths, and perhaps the two were inter-related in an ascending order in his scheme. We know that Kabīra and some of his other followers upheld the *Nirguṇa-pakṣa* only to the total rejection of the *Saguṇa* one; while the majority represented by Tulasīdāsa in particular and the present Rāmānandī sect in general have held a view of the matter diametrically opposed to that of Kabīra and others, with this difference

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पुनि पुनि सगुणपक्ष मैं रोपा । तब मुनि बोले वचन सकोपा ॥......
अतिविस्मय पुनि पुनि पछिताई । सादर मुनि मोहिं लीन्ह बुलाई ॥
मम परितोष विविध विधि कीन्हा । हर्षित राममन्त्र मोहिं दीन्हा ॥......
मुनि मोहिं कछुक काल तहं राखा । रामचरितमानस सब भाखा ॥
सादर मोहिं यह कथा सुनाई । पुनि बोले मुनि गिरा सुहाई ॥
रामचरितसर गुप्त सुहावा । शम्भुप्रसाद तात मैं पावा ॥...
रामभक्ति जिनके उर नाहीं । कबहुं न तात कहिय तेहिं पाहीं ॥......
जे अस भक्ति जानि परिहरहीं । केवल ज्ञानहेतु श्रम करहीं ॥......
ते शठ महासिन्धु विनु तरनी । पैरि पार चाहत जड करनी ॥
(cf. AR, I. i. 10-11, etc.)...........
मुनि भुशुण्डि के वचन भवानी । बोलेउ गरुड हर्षि मृदु बानी ॥
तव प्रसाद प्रभु मम उर माहीं । संशय शोक मोह भ्रम नाहीं ॥......
कहहिं सन्त मुनि वेद पुराना । नहिं कछु दुर्लभ ज्ञान समाना ॥
सो मुनि तुमसन कहेउ गोसाईं । नहिं आदरेउ भक्ति की नाईं ॥
ज्ञानहिं भक्तिहिं अन्तर केता । . ...सादर बोलेउ काक सुजाना ॥
ज्ञानहिं भक्तिहिं नहिं कछु भेदा । उभय हरहिं भवसम्भव खेदा ॥
नाथ मुनीश कहहिं कछु अन्तर ।......
ज्ञान विराग योग विज्ञाना । ये सब पुरुष........... ॥......
पुरुष त्यागि सकि नारि कहं, जो विरक्त मतिधीर ।......
भक्तिहिं सानुकूल रघुराया । तातें तेहि डरपति अतिमाया ॥
औरहु ज्ञान भक्ति कर, भेद सुनहु......॥......
ईश्वर अंश जीव अविनाशी ।..... ज्ञान कि पन्थ कृपाण कि धारा ।......
अति दुर्लभ कैवल्य परमपद । राम भजत सो मुक्ति गुसाईं ।
अनइच्छित आवै बरिआई ॥............
सेवक सेव्य भाव विनु, भव न तरिय उरगारि ।......
कहेउ ज्ञान सिद्धान्त बुझाई । सुनहु भक्तिमणि की प्रभुताई ॥......

that Tulasīdāsa was partial to *Saguṇa* in preference to the *Nirguṇa* path but did not denounce the latter; whereas the Rāmānandīs in their sectarian fervour are practically opposed to the latter, in consequence of their pro-Vaiṣṇavite tendencies contracted from their age-long associations with other Vaiṣṇavas and especially with the most prominent sect of Rāmānuja among them. Rāmānanda represented a synthesis of the two paths; whereas either set of his followers to whom it appeared unnatural stuck to one in isolation from the other.

The word *dīnāra*[81] occurring in the *Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa* is sometimes pointed out as a proof of its belonging to an early age when *dīnāras* were in use. But it should be remembered that this word occurs also in the works of Kṣemendra, Kalhaṇa,[81a] etc., belonging to the 11th, 12th and even later centuries. *Loka-prakaśa*,[82]

From the indications in the *Rāma-carita-mānasa*, may we not conclude that the *Adhyātmarāmayaṇa* was highly honoured in the Rāmānandī sect up to the times of Tulasīdāsa's preceptor who used to recite its *kathā* which Tulasi heard at Soron and that the latter, who was indebted to that so popular a Sanskrit work of his sect for much of his material, rather who based his work in the popular language mainly on it, was the first author who took courage in both hands to strike a discordant note against its emphasis on the path of knowledge, though balanced by an equal one on devotion as the accessory to the former, and who, possibly not only as an individual aspirant but also representing the feeling of the Vairāgī sect of his days, placed the path of *saguṇa-bhakti* on a higher level than that of the *nirguṇa bhakti-jñāna-pakṣa;* and thereafter the sect as a whole turned averse to this nice work of the great Ācārya Rāmānanda, who perhaps in his later years did not emphasise it for those who were qualified only to follow the *saguṇa* path? One thing, however, is certain that like Rāmānanda's even Tulsīdāsa's conception of knowledge was in no way different from that of Śaṅkarācārya's Advaita Vedānta.

[81] *AR*, I. vi. 76.

[81a] See Stein: *Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Vol. II, pp. 309, 313, etc.

[82] Dr. A. Weber: *Indische Studien*, Achtzehnter Band *i.e.*, Vol. XVIII, (Leipzig: 1898). pp. 289—397; for *dīnāra*, see pp. 339, 342, 358, etc.

though attributed to Kṣemendra, yet really a work having matters of even as late times as the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries, *i.e.*, up to the times of Shahjahan, contains it. In all these and some Persian works of these times *dīnāra* denotes something like the *asharfī* or *mohur*, a gold coin of the Mohammedan times, just like *Yavana* originally denoting Indian Greeks but now generally used to mean a Mohammedan. It is, therefore, not strange if the 14th century author of the *Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa* also knows *dīnāra*.

Attention of the critical scholars may also be drawn to the fact that of all the MSS of this work deposited in the different libraries of India and other countries none appear to belong to a period anterior to Rāmānanda, while older MSS of other works are still available. Similarly, none of its commentaries[83] are old enough to disprove the contention that the work was written in the 14th century, some of them being very recent. Of these *Setu* by Rāmavarman of Śṛngaverapura (Singraur, Dist. Allahabad) was written about the beginning of the 18th century probably in collaboration with Nāgeśabhaṭṭa, the famous Mahārāṣṭra polymath and a versatile author of Benares.

In fine, Rāmānanda (originally Rāmadatta or Rāmaśarman), son of Devala, a Kānyakubja Brāhmaṇa, was born at Prayāga in 1299 A.C. and went to Kāśī at the

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[83] T. Aufrecht: *Catalogorus Catalogorum*, p. 11—Oppert II, 2584; by Gopāla Cakravartin, IO. 219; by Narottama, IO. 562; *Setu* by Rāmavarman (already published at Bombay and Calcutta); by Rāmānanda Tīrtha, see L. 419; by Saṅkara, B. 2, 56; by Sadānanda, NW. 500; *Prakāśa* by Haribhāskara, Ptm. 2, 48; *AR-Rahasya* by Rādhākṛṣṇa, Radh, 38;—see also p. 521—among 47 works compiled by Rāmānanda Tīrtha or Yati called Tīrthasvāmin, *Guru* of Advaitānanda (Hall, p. 89)—*Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa-ṭippaṇī*, *Adhyātma-bindu*, *Adhyātma-sāra* (Vedānta) mentiond L. 1017 under *Rāmakāvya; Rāma-tattvaprakāśa*, *Rāmāyaṇa-kūṭa-ṭīka*, *Saṅkṣepādhyātma-sāra* L. 1022; and by Rāmānanda Svāmin *Tattva-saṅgraha-Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mukti-tattva*.

age of 12, and there, pursuing higher studies in the Advaita-Vedānta and practices in Śaivism and *Rāma-bhakti*, wrote the *Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa* as the best synthesis of his achievements in the domain of practical philosophy and religion and a nice specimen of a literary work, before he instituted his own sect which resulted in developing two parallel currents of *Bhakti*, the *Saguṇa* and *Nirguṇa* one, the germs of both having been deposited in this work.

It is a queer combination of facts that the *Adhyātma-rāmāyaṇa*, its famous commentary by Rāmavarman-*cum*-Nāgeśabhaṭṭa and the present paper—all the three—should have been connected alike with the two most sacred places of pilgrimage and very great seats of ancient culture and learning, *viz.*, Prayāga and Kāśī, respectively regarding their authorship and publication.

विद्याभूषणविरुदो रघुवरशास्त्रीत्यतिष्ठिपत् सम्यक् ।
अध्यात्मरामचरिते श्रीरामानन्दकर्तृकताम् ॥

RESEARCH IN INDIAN PHILOSOPHY: A REVIEW

By P. T. RAJU

I

What is Indian Philosophy? Like European Philosophy Indian Philosophy has a geographical differentia. It is all philosophy born in India. It comprises the Buddhistic schools, the Jaina system, the orthodox Hindu schools and the Vedāntic systems, the pure indigenous Tamil, Canarese, and Telugu Śaivisms, some of which later became Vedāntic, the similarly developed local and Vedāntic Vaiṣṇavisms; and a number of other minor religious philosophies, which also may be divided into two classes, the pure and the Vedāntic, the Vedāntic in general being the later phases or developments of what were purely of local origin. But unlike European Philosophy, Indian Philosophy has the misfortune of being temporarily limited. It is, as it is till now understood, the philosophy born in India before the sixteenth century. Or we may say it is only the ancient and mediæval Indian philosophy. It does not seem to have been recognised that Indian Philosophy has a modern period, or that it can have one.

What is the reason? Human mind and behaviour, says McDougall, is hormic or purposive. Its activity is guided and coloured by purpose; when the purpose is realised activity ceases. This principle is fairly exemplified in our philosophical activity.

Max Müller lecturing in Oxford in the year 1882 asks: "Why then should it be that the race of bold explorers, who once rendered the name of Indian Civil Service illustrious over the whole world, has well-nigh become extinct, and that England, which offers the strongest incentives and the most brilliant opportunities for the study

of the ancient language, literature and the history of India, is no longer in the van of Sanskrit scholarship?"[1] To that question, the answer he commonly heard was that *The Laws of Manu* was translated and so also was *Śākuntalaṃ* and the *Bhagavadgītā*. What else does a civil servant need to know?

After the execution of Nanda Kumar for forgery, Warren Hastings felt the need of governing the subject races according to their own laws; and an attempt was made to understand their beliefs and faiths, because as a sagacious policy the rulers proclaimed that they would not interfere with the religions of the ruled. The former found that the Hindus and the Muslims of the time were sensitive about their religious practices, and the government felt that, if it were to run smooth, it should respect them. Therefore some knowledge of both Hindu and Muslim law and of their faiths was found indispensable. Hence the English translation of the Indian law from the Persian by Halbead entitled the *Code of Gentoo Law*, and the inauguration of The Asiatic Society of Bengal in the year 1784. A little later Sanskrit philological studies were started by Sir Charles Wilkins, Sir William Jones and H. T. Colebrooke. But the chief interest was mainly centred in the study of Indian law and faiths and that too for the purpose of governing the Indians. That is why by the time Max Müller was lecturing in Oxford he found interest in Indological studies waning. The Indian Civil Service was not interested in knowing whether Indian literature, ethical, philosophical and religious, contained anything which was ethically, philosophically and religiously valuable by incorporating which their own ethics, philosophy and religion could be enriched. How strange would Max Müller's words have sounded when he

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[1] *India: What can It Teach Us?*, p. ix.

said: "If I were to look over the whole world to find out the country most richly endowed with all the wealth, power, and beauty that nature can bestow—in some parts a very paradise on earth—I should point to India. If I were asked under what sky the human mind has most fully developed some of its choicest gifts, has most deeply pondered on the greatest problems of life, and has found the solution of some of them which will deserve the attention even of those who have studied Plato and Kant—I should point to India. And if I were to ask myself from what literature, here in Europe, we who have been nurtured almost exclusively on the thoughts of Greeks and Romans, and of one Semitic race, the Jewish, may draw that corrective which is most wanted in order to make our inner life more perfect, more comprehensive, more universal, in fact more truly human, a life, not for this life only, but a transfigured and eternal life—again I should point to India."[2] Certainly Indological studies did not begin with these aims, and we shall not be wrong if we say that Indian philosophical research even at this day is not completely freed from the non-philosophical aim with which it started.

II

The motives that impelled the Westerners to study Indian Philosophy are varied. First, we have the interest of the governing classes to know the ideas of the governed, so as to least provoke them by disturbing their fundamental beliefs and conceptions and going against their customs. It is for this reason that Warren Hastings started the work of translating the Hindu law and The Asiatic Society of Bengal was inaugurated. But the aim of such work is not high. At a certain stage lack of interest sets in. However, when a certain type of work gets started, it generally goes on. Because of the vast amount of material that can

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[2] *Ibid.*, p. 6.

be presented to the West in its languages, the work will not come to a full stop. Meanwhile educated India has become identical with English-knowing India. In order to teach it what its country achieved in tne past, presentation of Indian thought in English has become a necessity And as Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit are dead languages, translating them into English and living Indian languages will have to continue. But such work will inevitably bear the stamp 'antiquarian.'

In the second place, the Christian missionaries were interested in understanding Indian religions and philosophy, not in order to appreciate, but to criticise. Proselytisation was difficult without proving to the Indians that their religion was faulty and evil. This type of work began even from the later half of the seventeenth century. Abraham Roger, a Dutchman, wrote in 1681 *Open Door to Hidden Heathendom*. Bernier in 1671 and Tabernier in 1677 both wrote on the social customs of the Indians. As early as 1656 *L' Ezour Vedam* was found written with the express intention of criticising Hinduism for obtaining more converts. This type of work which is avowedly sectarian and biased cannot have much philosophical value. Its main purpose is to pick out faults and to be blind to merits and so to lose the spirit. Its authors may have generally good theological training, but not the philosophical in the pure sense of the term. So even if they want to, they cannot appreciate the real worth of the philosophical side of Hindu religion. Such work makes much of non-essentials and often shows deplorable ignorance of essentials.

But even the work of missionaries has made progress from intentional misunderstanding and misinterpretation through detached and objective study towards sympathetic appreciation. Several intermediate stages and mixed motives can be found As late as 1914 St. Hilaire writes:

"This work may possibly possess another advantage, for I regret to say that it is to a certain degree opportune. For some time past the doctrines which form the basis of Buddhism have found favour amongst us, a favour of which they are most unworthy."[3] Evidently the author is afraid that Buddhism would displace Christianity. The tendency of all Christian writers, from the philosopher to the theologian, is to find in Christianity a synthesis of all that is best in all religions. Neither Hegel nor Pfliederer is free from this bias. Works like those of Farquhar and Macnicol we may possibly place in the second category. But of late some Christians have discovered that they have really nothing new to preach to the Hindu in religion, and that on the other hand there is something worthy which they may themselves borrow from Hinduism. The growth of some Christian sects which, except for their belief in Christ, observe most of Hindu religious practices, is an example to the point. Sadhu Sunder Singh is a Hindu in every respect except for his Christianity.[4] C. F. Andrews did not care to convert. Pratt in his *Pilgrimage of Buddhism and a Buddhistic Pilgrimage*, *India and its Faiths*, and *Adventures in Philosophy and Religion*, makes an honest appreciatory approach to Indian religion and thought. He believes in a true synthesis of the Socratic tradition and the preachings of Jesus and Buddha. The rationalism and the scientific spirit of the West is Socratic legacy, love of neighbours and the world the Christian, and self-abnegation the Buddhist. A true unity of the three is the high task and heavy responsibility of the religion and the philosophy of the day. On the other hand, Rev. McKenzie finds very little of ethical worth in our philosophy and religion. To quote Hopkins, who is really appreciative, "Prof. McKenzie finds the ethics of India

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[3] *Buddha and His Religion*, p. 15.
[4] See C. F. Andrews: *Sadhu Sunder Singh*, p. 248.

defective, illogical and antisocial, lacking any philosophical foundation, nullified by abhorent ideas of ascetism and ritual, and altogether inferior to the 'higher spirituality' of Europe. He will not deny that the Hindus favour some virtues, such as liberality and hospitality, and he is careful to point out that an altruistic motive in exercising these virtues may not be entirely absent; but he reminds his readers that they are of savage origin; when properly interpreted they reveal themselves as based on selfishness and magical superstition, so that, historically considered, they would appear to be surviving vices rather than honest virtues, at least among Hindus."[5] Examples can be multiplied, but it would be enough if we note the aims and achievements of such work.

The third type of work is that of the archæologist and the anthropologist. The contribution made by this work to Indian philosophy is not very much and is mostly limited to the understanding of some primitive religious beliefs and customs. The excavations at Mohenjodaro reveal some primitive Śiva cult. Similarly, the anthropologists place before us the religious beliefs and customs of the Todas, Nāgas, etc., which certainly can help understanding the growth of our present-day religion. Frazer's *Golden Bough* is full of such information. Excavations of sites at Amaravati, Nalanda and other Buddhist centres furnish us with information about the spread and growth of Buddhism. Such societies outside India, as in the East Indies, Combodia and many other Asiatic countries reveal to us the greatness and importance of Buddhism as a world religion, and have done wonderful work in that direction. And it is the work of these societies that prompts the building up of theories like Pre-Upaniṣadic Sāṅkhya, Proto-Sāṅkhya and so forth.

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[5] ***Ethics of India*, Preface.**

A fourth kind of interest in Indian Philosophy is the philological, which has given rise to the philological interpretations of philosophical systems. This tendency is present in many a Western orientalist, who generally makes a historical or genetic approach to the subject. Though now and then there are excursions into the philosophical systems by such scholars, this work is mostly confined to Vedic research. Though their attempts are followed by very little success in the case of the systems, in understanding the Vedas they have been most useful. It is not unusual with the Pandits of India also to dwell on the etymological meanings of words and include grammatical controversies in their philosophical discussions. But the Western orientalist goes farther and brings in aid philology, semantics and comparative mythology. There is no doubt that so far as the work is confined to the Vedas, it would be highly useful. The discovery of Sanskrit in India revealed the kinship of the Indo-Germanic languages and this study led to the development of comparative mythology and comparative philology, the underlying idea being that all must have had some common origin. Sanskrit being the oldest form preserved, much light, it is reasonably thought, can be thrown on the Vedic ideas by a study of the languages and the myths of the other people. But as we shall see below, when this type of study is made of the systems, nothing but confusion and misunderstanding will result. Even in the etymological understanding of concepts we have to distinguish two kinds: first, to fix the significance of the concept philosophically and support it through etymology and, second, to give the etymological meaning of the word at first and fix the significance of the concept accordingly. The second is a hindrance to a true understanding of philosophical systems.

Then fifthly, there are people who are mystic in temperament and who overwhelmed by the mystery of the

universe and unable to unravel it with the help of Western thought feel that oriental wisdom contains a key to it. The Theosophical Society, for instance, has done valuable service to Indian philosophical studies by getting a large number of important works edited and translated. Mrs. Annie Besant's translation of the *Bhagavadgītā* is still one of the most popular. Two other names, those of Justice Woodroffe and Aurthor Avalon, should also be mentioned in this connection. They showed great courage in expounding Tāntric literature and Śākta philosophy to the educated public, even to educated India, which looked upon both as closely associated with contemptible superstitions and practices. In all these people there is in general a groping of the mystic after the mysterious; there lies their interest and hence the great service they have done to Indian Philosophy. Does not even McTaggart say that philosophy must necessarily end in mysticism!

None of the above five motives that prompted the occidentals to study Indian Philosophy is philosophical in the sense that the study is made with the manifest purpose of knowing how best to improve their rational understanding of the universe. We may however say that the last approaches the criterion. Yet the motive is rather religious than philosophical, and their study has so far contributed little to the growth of either Indian thought or the European. Mr. Krishnamurti seems to be striking at new ideas, but he systematically inveighs against all systems. One or two attempts have been made to discover a system in his systematic invective, but any development therefrom must await the future. Moreover, it is difficult to say that his ideas are a result of a study of Indian Philosophy or the European or the outcome of the study of Indian thought by the Theosophists.

[*To be continued.*

GLEANINGS FROM SOMADEVASŪRI'S YAŚASTILAKA CAMPŪ

By V. RAGHAVAN

[The historical interest of the work—Somadeva's wide contacts—His works—Logician and Poet—Master of vocabulary—His *Y. T. Campū*—the sources of information—Notices of the work—Errors in the *Kāvyamāla Text* —Two commentaries—Śrīdeva's earlier commentary and the BORI Ms of the same—Śrutasāgara's gloss based on Śrīdeva's—the *Sāmagrīs* of poetry—*Vakrokti* and *Svabhāvokti*—*Ratirahasya*—Paripuṅkha name of Buddha's father—*Trikamata*—Types of towns, cities, etc.—schools of grammar—Raṅgavallī—Different countries Aśmantaka, Pallava, Cola, etc.—Allusion to a Rāṣṭrakūṭa title —Nāṭya-śāstra—*Patracchedya* one of the 64 Arts—Authorities on several branches of learning—Paṇi name of Pāṇini's father—Raivata on horses—*Bhogāvalī* a court-panegyric—Allusion to a Rāṣṭrakūta title—suffix—Authorities on elephant-lore, Rājaputra (Budha), etc.—Māgha the poet—Reference to 'Asamasāhasa'—Sattriputras a class of spies—*Māma* meaning uncle—*Traidaṇḍika-Śaivas*—*Ṣaṭprajñas* and the semantics of the word —Kauṭalya and Viśālākṣa—Reference to six poets and scholars—Description of armies of Tamils, Bengalis, etc.—Authorities on Arthaśāstra; some rare names here—Topical epitome of Polity—Topical epitome of Nāṭya and Alaṅkāra śāstras—Reference to *Darśanakāras*—Elephant-authorities—*Vaidya*-authorities—Mechanical appliances in the bathing park—Akālajalada the poet—Allusion to Cedi-Rāṣṭrakūṭa marriages—Musical instruments—*Mahānavamī* and *Dīpotsava* festival—Practice of Archery—custom of *Dṛṣṭiparihāra*—A Lady-doorkeeper proficient

in all languages—Mechanical fan—Quotation from Vātsyāyana—Allusion to Rāṣṭrakūṭa title-suffix—Some Proverbs—Quotations from Lokāyata—Bad practices in some countries—Some idioms—Quotations from Vararuci (Bhartṛhari), Manu, *M. Bhārata*—from Bhāradvāja's *Artha-śāstra*—from Viśālākṣa's *Arthaśāstra*—*Praśnottararatna-mālikā* imitated—A sample of anti-Jain declamation—Śruti and Smṛti quoted—References to Jainism in Brahmanical books—Prajāpati's *Citrakarman* and *Ādityamata* two *Śilpa* works—17 poets referred to; five of them unknown—Kāvya chapter of Bharata's Nāṭya—śāstra—Objectionable Brāhmaṇa practices—*Piṣṭapaśuyāga* and its antiquity—some legends, Vararuci, Dāṇḍakya Bhoja, etc.—Instances of dangers to kings from women, found also in his *Nītivākyāmṛta*—*Samīkṣā* or Sāṅkhya—*Raghuvaṁśa*—Metrics, Veda, *Gāyatrī*—Kālidāsa—*Syādvāda*—*M. Bhārata*—probable echo of *Mukundamālā*—Nine sections of polity—Lokāyata of Bṛhaspati—Mīmāṁsā—Buddhistic *Tripiṭakas* and *Yogācāras*—*kucumāra-vidyā*—*Citrakāvya*—Nāṭya—Pāṇḍya coin—*Pūrṇa—Kumbha* a good omen—*Samavasaraṇa*—*MS* copying—*Manmatha-pūjā*—cock-fight—*Kharapaṭa śāstra* or theft—summary of Sāṅkhya, Śaiva, Bauddha and Cārvāka schools—Quotations from Kumārila's *Ślokavārttika* and *Hastāmalakīya*—Śaiva quotations—*Avadhūta* a Śaiva quoted—*Mahimnasstava* quoted—Bharṭhari's *Nītiśataka* quoted—*Raghuvaṃśa* used—Summary of philosophical schools Saiddhāntika Vaiśeṣikas, Tārkikavaiśeṣikas, Pāśupatas, Kaulas, Sāṅkhyas, *Daśabalaśiṣyas* (Bauddhas), Mīmāṁsakas, Cārvākas, Vedāntins, Śākya, again, Kāṇādas (Naiyāyikas), Buddhists again, Kāpilas (Pātañjalas), Brahmādvaitins—Patañjali quoted—*Svapnādhyāya* quoted—criticism of all these schools—Reference to Śaṅkara as having followed the Buddhistic viewpoint—Patañjali—Śaiva criticised—Vaiśeṣika quoted—Legend of Śiva

revealing Vaiśeṣika to Kaṇāda in owl-form at Benares—criticism of other schools and exposition of Jainism.]

Somadevasūri wrote his *Yaśastilaka Campū* in A.D. 959, when Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III was staying in Melpāṭi,[1] after defeating and killing the Cola prince Rājāditya, son of Parāntaka, in A.D. 949, in the battle of Takkolam in which Kṛṣṇa was aided by his brother-in-law and ally, Bhīrtuga. The immediate patrons of Somadeva were the Lemulavāḍa Cālukyas, feudatories of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, Arikesarin II, his son Vadyaga and his son Arikesarin III; there is an inscription of the last mentioned Lemulavāḍa chief Arikesarin III, dated A.D. 966, in which Somadevasūri is mentioned.[2]

At the end of the *Yaśastilaka Campū*, Somadeva describes himself as a pupil of the Devasaṅgha, but in the Parbhanī inscription, he is referred to the Gauḍasaṅgha; and on the basis of this and the reference in a commentary on Somadeva's *Nītivākyāmṛta*[3] to his having written that work on Polity for King Mahendrapāla of Kanauj, and supported also by allusions in the *Yaśastilaka Campū* leaving out Somadeva's acquaintance with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their allies and near relatives, the Cedis, I suggested in an article[4] on Somadeva that the poet had contacts in Gauḍadeśa and with the court of the Pratīhāras, the Cedis, the Rāṣṭrakūtas and the Lemulavāḍa Cālukya feudatories of the last.

These wide contacts and his vast erudition make Somadeva's works valuable. According to the colophon in his

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[1] See *Yaśastilaka Campū, Kāvyamālā* 70, 2 Vols., end of Vol. II, p. 419.

[2] See *Bhāratīya Itihāsa Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala Journal*, XIII. 3; pp. 85—92, Nathuram Premi's Hindi Book '*Jaina Sāhitya aur Itihāsa*'; and my article on Somadevasūri in the *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VI, No. 3, pp. 67—69.

[3] *Māṇikyacandra Digambara Jaina Granthamāla*, 21.

[4] See *New Indian Antiquary*, ibid.

Nītivākyāmṛta, Somadeva wrote 96 *Prakaraṇas*, a *Yukticintāmaṇisūtra*, a work called *Mahendra-mātali—Sañjalpa*, besides the *Yaśastilaka Campū* and the *Nītivākyāmṛta*. The Parbhani inscription adds to his works a *Syādvādopaniṣad* and numerous *Subhāṣitas*. In the 17th introductory verse in his *Y. T. Campū*, he refers to his being a logician and a poet.

आजन्म समभ्यस्ताच्छुष्कात्तर्कात्तृणादिव ममास्याः ।
मतिसुरभेरभवदियं सूक्तिपयः सुकृतिनां पुण्यैः ॥

Of his works, this voluminous *Y. T. Campū* of his, published in two volumes as No. 70 in the *Kāvyamālā* is a vast storehouse of information and contains references to numberless things of interest made both in a straight and veiled manner. In a verse at the end of the *Campū*, Somadeva calls his work an *Abhidhāna-nidhāna* (pt. II, p. 418), and in its description of the daily life of a king with which a substantial portion of the former part is taken, the *Campū* is an epitome of every subject which normally comes under the scheme of a royal thesaurus like the *Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi* of Someśvara of Kalyan. There is a good deal here to supplement the author's main work on *Arthaśāstra*, the *Nītivākyāmṛta*. A complete analysis of the contents of the *Campū* with Notes is a major piece of work on which I am not embarking. In this paper, I am jotting down with my Notes only such of the points of interest as arrested my attention on a running perusal of the *Campū*.

The *Y. T. Campū* is noticed by Peterson in his *Second Report*, 1884, pp. 33—49 and 147—156; this notice comprises a summary of the work, some gleanings and extracts.[5] The *Kāvyamālā* print of the work of 1901 is very defective, and especially in the commentary

[5] In the enthusiasm of his discovery, Peterson gives rather exaggerated praise to the work (p. 33).

of Śrutasāgara printed in the above publication up to a part of the fifth chapter, the errors are too numerous. Śrutasāgara had before him the commentary *Pañjikā* of one Śrīdeva, whom Śrutasāgara completely uses, and whom he refers to in two places :

(*a*) Pt. I, p. 237. पञ्जिकाकारेषु (.कारस्तु) श्रीदेवाचार्यः कविशब्देन बृहस्पतिमाह ।

(*b*) Pt. I, p. 462 'भद्रश्रियं चन्दनम्' इति पञ्जिका भारो (—कारः) जिनदेवः (श्रीदेवः) ।

This Śrīdeva's commentary on the *Y. T. Campū* is available in a manuscript in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, and through the courtesy of Curator P. K. Gode, I was able to use the *Pañjikā* for this article. Śrīdeva's commentary, BORI 547 of 1884—86, is a very brief gloss; the manuscript, as it contains 34 sheets, and might have had a few more sheets. At the end of the *Y. T. Campū*, an *Upajāti* gives an indication of the subjects that have gone into the work :

वर्णः पदं वाक्यविधिः समासो लिंगं क्रिया कारकमन्यतन्त्रम् ।
छन्दो रसो रीतिरलङ्क्रियार्थो लोकस्थितिश्चात्र चतुर्दश स्युः ॥

Pt. II, p. 419.

Śrīdeva gives a more detailed list of the branches of knowledge appearing in the pages of the *Y. T. Campū* :

छन्दःशब्दनिघंट्वलंकृतिकलासिद्धान्तसामुद्रक-
ज्योतिर्वैद्यकवेदवादभरतानंगद्विपस्वाप्न-
तर्काख्यानकमन्त्रनीतिशकुनक्ष्मारुट्पुराणस्मृति-
श्रेयोऽध्यात्मजगत्स्थितिप्रवचनी व्युत्पत्तिरत्रोच्यते ॥

Bori Ms., p. 1a.

And on all these topics, Śrīdeva considers himself qualified to explain and remarks that he and Somadeva himself are the two who could clear the doubts in this work.

अहं वा काव्यकर्ता वा तौ द्वावेवेश्वराविह । *ibid.*

A comparison of Śrutasāgara's commentary with Śrīdeva's

shows that the former has utilised the latter completely.[6]
Part I, p. 6, Śloka 20: लोको युक्तिः कलाः छन्दः अलंकाराः समयागमाः ।

The line mentions the '*Sāmagrīs*' of poetry and can be compared with *Bhāmaha*, I. 9:

शब्दश्छन्दोऽभिधानार्थाः इतिहासाश्रयाः कथाः ।
लोको युक्तिः कलाश्चेति मन्तव्याः काव्यगैरमी ॥

and *Vāmana* I. 3. 1—3:

लोको विद्या प्रकीर्णं च काव्याङ्गानि ॥१॥ शब्दस्मृत्यभिधानकोशछन्दोविचिति-कलाकामशास्त्रदण्डनीतिपूर्वा विद्याः ॥२॥

P. 8, śl. 27 refers to *Vakrokti* and *Svabhāvokti* and the desirability of employing both.

न चैकान्तेन वक्रोक्तिः स्वभावाख्यानमेव वा ।
बुधानां प्रीतये किन्तु द्वयं कान्ताजनेष्विव ॥

P. 25. चरणनखसंपादितरतिरहस्यरत्नदीपविरचनैः । There is probably an allusion here by *śleṣa* to Kokkoka's work, *Ratirahasya*, and an old commentary on it called *Ratnadīpa*. On this probability and its bearing on the date of the *Ratirahasya*, see my Note in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*,

P. 41. पारिपुङ्ख इवानात्मनीनवृत्तिः । According to both Śrīdeva and Śrutasāgara, Pāripuṅkha is Buddha; according to the latter, Pāripuṅkha is Buddha's father.

P. 43. त्रिकमतदीक्षितस्येव । A reference to the Anuttara Pratyabhijñā Śaiva school of Kashmir. त्रिकमतः त्र्यम्बकसमयः त्रीणि कानि ईक्षणानि यस्येति व्युत्पत्तेः—Śrīdeva.

P. 88. पुरस्थानीयद्रोणमुखकार्वटिकसंग्रहनिगमग्रामविश्वंभराः— refers to different kinds of places like town, city and so on. *Pura* seems to denote a capital and fort-city: Śrīdeva says: पुरं परिखावप्रप्रतोलीप्राकारादिसमन्वितम् राजाधिष्ठितं च । *Sthānīya* is the centre of a circle of 800 villages; *Droṇamukha*

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[6] The two citations from Śrīdeva given by Śrutasāgara, noted above, occur on pp. 7b and 13b of the BORI MS of Śrīdeva's commentary.

is the headquarters of a group of 400 villages; *Kārvaṭika* comprises 200 villages; *Saṅgraha* has only 10 villages under it; Śrīdeva's explanations are those taken from Kauṭalya himself who says in II. i. 19:

अष्टशतग्राम्या मध्ये स्थानीयम्, चतुःशतग्राम्या द्रोणमुखम्, द्विशतग्राम्या कार्वटिकम्, दशग्रामीसंग्रहेण संग्रहणम् स्थापयेत्।

Dr. Shama Śāstrī quotes in the footnotes here from the Jain works, *Rajapraśnīyavyākhyāna* and *Praśnavyākaraṇasūtravyākaraṇa*. According to these authorities, *Droṇamukhas* are places to be approached only through boats.

Kauṭalya refers again to *Droṇamukha* and *Sthānīya* in connection with laying roads. See also III. 10. 61. *Saṅgraha*, *Droṇamukha* and *Sthānīya* are mentioned also in III. 1. 58.

Nigama, Śrīdeva says, comprises a lakh of villages: नगमः लक्षग्रामः।

P. 90. A reference to schools of grammar—कैश्चिद् ऐन्द्र-जैनेन्द्र-चान्द्र-आपिशल—पाणिनीयाद्यनेकव्याकरणोपदिश्यमान etc.

P. 91. नीतिशास्त्रैरिव प्रकाशितशमयोगतीर्थोद्योगैः। The *Tīrthas* of Arthaśāstra mentioned here are the 18 offices of the State, *Mantrin*, *Senāpati*, etc. Another reference to these *Tīrthas* occurs on p. 216.

P. 133. पर्यन्तपादपैः संपादितकुसुमोपहारः प्रदत्तरङ्गावलिः (रङ्गवल्लिः) इव गुहापरियरेषु—is a reference to the temporary floral designs drawn with white and coloured powder by our womenfolk, for decorating the floor, and called *Raṅgavallī*, *Raṅgolī*, *Alpanā* or *Kolam* (Tamil). According to the Sanskrit Texts on Painting, this is called *Kṣaṇika-Citra* and is classified into *Dhūli-Citra* (with dry powder) and *Rasa-Citra* (with coloured solution). See my article on Sanskrit Texts on Painting, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. IX, pp. 905-6.

Three other references to this *Raṅgavallī* on the floor are to be found on pp. 350, 369 and Pt II, p. 24.

(*a*) अकालक्षेपं दत्तस्व रङ्गवल्लिप्रदानेषु। P. 350.

(*b*) अनल्पकर्पूरपरागपरिकल्पितरङ्गावलिविधानम्—A description of the courthall, where the white *Karpūra* dust is used for these drawings. P. 369.

(*c*) चरणनखस्फुटितेन रङ्गवल्लीमणीन् इव असहमानया। A reference to such designs worked permanently by fixing coloured stones on the floor, in the queen's apartments.

For a fourth reference, see Pt. II, p. 247—रङ्गवल्लीषु परभागकल्पनम्— which speaks of devising a ground which would set off the design.

P. 188, verse 187 refers to the countries Aśmantaka, Pallava, Cola, Pāṇḍya and Ve(ce)rama kings. On p. 189, Somadeva mentions Kerala, Vaṅga, Cola, Pallava, Kuntala, Malaya, Vanavāsi, Karṇāṭa, Kurujāṅgala and Kamboja.

The remarks of the commentator Śrutasāgara on these place-names are interesting:

P. 188. हे अश्मन्तक सपादलक्षपर्वतनिवासिन् [7]।

हे पल्लव पञ्चद्रामिल।

हे चोलेश। चोलदेशो दक्षिणापथे वर्तते। संगापुरपते (गङ्गापुरपते in a *ms.*)।

हे पाण्ड्य सूक्ष्मवस्त्रोत्पत्तिनगराधीश। दक्षिणापथाश्रितः पाण्ड्य देशो वर्तते। पाण्ड्यो देशो द्विविधः, पाण्ड्यः अन्तरपाण्ड्यश्च।

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P. 189. पल्लवरमणीनां पञ्चद्रामिलस्त्रीणाम्।

वनवासियेाम्रितां गिरिसोपानादिनगरस्त्रीणाम्।

कर्णाटयुवतीनां विदरादिस्त्रीणाम्।

On the name Pallava used as meaning the Tamils, see my Notes on Some Ancient South-Indian Political Geographical Terms in the *Annals of Oriental Research*,

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[7] '*Sapādalakṣa*' is found mentioned as the territory of the Cāhamāns of Śākambharī. See H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History of N. I.*, Vol. II; pp. 937. 1067 (Merutuṅga's *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* refers to the king of Sapādalakṣa ruling from Śākambharī). Dr. N. Venkaṭaramanayya drew my attention to this.

University of Madras, Vol. V, Pt. 2. Who may be the five Tamil peoples in the expression *'Pañca drāmila'*? The expression occurs in the Mīraj plates of Jayasimha II, dated 1024 A.D., which refer to the Cola king, Rājendra Cola Gaṅgaikoṇḍān, as lord of the five Drāmila countries. (*Epi. Ind.* xii, p. 295. *Ind. Ant.* viii, p. 18.)[8] The five Tamil countries intended here can only be the Cera, Cola and Pāṇḍya territories together with the Juṇḍira or Kāñcī maṇḍala which was the territory of the Pallavas, and Veṅgī country of the Telugus which came under Cola hegemony. That a Telugu territory was part of this Pañcadrāmila is also borne out by a passage in the Telugu work *Paṇḍitārādhyacarita* which says that the *Pañcadrāviḍa* included nine lakhs Telugus.

-tsānondan avali pañcadraviḍamula-
to navalakṣa teluṅgu.

Parvata prakaraṇa; p. 415, pt. 2, *Āndhra Granthamālā* 30. The Gaṅgāpura mentioned by Śrutasāgara as the Cola capital is the Gaṅgaikoṇḍacolapuram built by Rājendracola as a new capital to commemorate his Ganges expedition; in Somadeva's own time, however, Tanjore was the Cola capital. The gloss on Pāṇḍya shows that in Śrutasāgara's time, Madura was well known for its fine textiles; but the two Pāṇḍyas mentioned by him are obscure; we do not know if the territory of the Uccaṅgi Pāṇḍyas, who were patrons of Jainism, is kept in mind by Śrutasāgara[9]. Vaijayantī is the well-known capital of

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[8] This reference as well as the one in the *Paṇḍitārādhyacarita* which follows was given to me by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya.

[9] Dr. N. Venkataramanayya points out that this might contain some allusion to the Pañca-Pāṇḍya found in Inscription (*Epi. Ind.*, V., p. 103) and Literature (Tamil. Prof. K. A. Nīlakantha Sastri, *Colas*, II, p. 20). See also Dr. Venkataramanayya's *Early Muslim Expansion in S. I.*, pp. 45-6, where some Persian sources are noted as referring to the Pañca-Pāṇḍyas.

Banavāsi; Śrutasāgara's Girisopāna is not identifiable. So also is his Vidara[10] of Karṇāṭa.

P. 196: अहो धर्मावलोक महीपाल। Dharmāvaloka is a Rāṣṭrakūṭa royal title. On the significance of this and similar passages, see my article on Somedeva in the *New Indian Antiquary* mentioned previously. See also Part 2, p. 79, अहो धर्मावलोक।

P. 202: भावसङ्करः संसर्गविद्यासु. Both the commentators say that *Samsargavidyā* means Bharata, *i.e.*, *Nāṭya Śāstra*.

P. 202: शस्त्रसंपातः पत्रच्छेदेषु *Patraccheda* or *Patracchedya* is one of the sixty-four arts; it is the cutting of designs on leaves like *Pān* with scissors, and forms an endowment of the Nāgarakas who engage themselves in it while sitting in *Goṣṭhī* and chatting. The *Kāmasūtra* mentions it in I. 3. 16, list of *Kalās*, as *Viśeṣakacchedya*, and the commentator, Jayamaṅgalākāra, mentions the same *Kalā* as *Patracchedya*, and explains the word *Viśeṣaka* as referring to forehead-mark, *Tilaka*, cut on leaves like *Bhūrja*. (P. 33, Chowk. edn.). But references in the *Sūtras* of Vātsyāyana himself show us that this cutting on leaves of greater scope and use in love-affairs. In III. 4. 4, Vātsyāyana suggests that the lover may send to the Kanyā of his attention designs cut on leaves showing his attention and mind, designs such as a loving *par*, of swans, etc. पत्रच्छेद्यक्रियायां च स्वाभिप्रायसूचकं मिथुनमस्या दर्शयेत्। In the *Pāradārika* again, V. 4. 38, these *Patracchedyas* of suggestive designs and forms are mentioned as aids in love-making. पत्रच्छेद्यानि नानाभिप्रायाकृतीनि दर्शयेत्॥ Dāmodara Gupta's *Kuṭṭanīmata* contains three references to this *Patracchedya*: Śl. 124—पत्रच्छेदविधाने। Śl. 74—पत्रच्छेदमजानन् जानन् वा कौशलं कलाविषये। प्रकटयति जनसमाजे विभ्रमाणः पत्रकर्तरीं सततम्॥

[*To be Continued*.

[10] According to Dr. Venkataramanayya, Vidara may be the same as Bidare, a town in N. Karṇāṭaka, mentioned in both Inscription and Literature, and where a family of Jain chiefs ruled.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

SILVER JUBILEE VOLUME OF THE ANNALS OF THE BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE (1917—1942): Edited by Dr. R. N. Dandekar. Pp. vii+684.

The present volume is the twenty-third volume of the "*Annals.*" It has been issued as a Special Jubilee Number on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee Celebrations of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. The volume deals with varieties of subjects and can be broadly classified under nine different heads—1. Veda and Avesta; 2. Epics and Purāṇas; 3. Classical and Modern Literature; 4. Philosophy and Religion; 5. History, Archæology, and Epigraphy etc.; 6. Linguistics; 7. Sociology; 8. Technical Sciences; and 9. Study of Manuscripts. In all there are 79 articles. Almost all the contributions are from the scholars who are regarded experts in their special branches of studies. Most of these contributions throw new light on the topics dealt with. The editor deserves our congratulations for having been able to bring out such an interesting number of the "*Annals*" on this auspicious occasion in the history of the Institute. We cannot forget to express our sense of gratitude to those scholars whose original contributions and enthusiastic co-operation alone are responsible for the success of this number.

TRIBES IN ANCIENT INDIA: By Dr. Bimala Churn Law, M.A., B.L., Ph.D., D.Litt. Bhandarkar Oriental Series No. 4. Published by Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. Frist edition, 1943. Pp. xix + 428.

Dr. B. C. Law needs no introduction to the scholarly circle. His original contributions to the different branch-

es of Indology particularly Buddhism are too well known. The work under review deals with the tribes of Ancient India. Even before this, Dr. Law had written on the history of tribes, mainly of the Kṣattriya class. In the present work, however, the author has not confined himself to any particular class, but presents to the literary world a "comprehensive and systematic account of some tribes inhabiting different parts of India, who played an important part in the early history of India."

In 75 chapters the author has dealt with over one hundred and fifty small and big tribes of ancient India. For the exhaustive treatment of each, the author has ransacked all possible references found scattered in the vast literature of the country. He has utilised all the available sources —Brahmanic, Buddhist and Jainas and tried to present them in an interesting manner. Almost all his statements are fully documented which makes the work quite authentic as well. But sometimes though he has quoted authority for his statement, he has not tried to look into the reality. For instance, in Chapter XXVII, p.103, he says— "Nowadays, Benares extends four miles along the bank of the river, which here descends to the water with a steep brink. Down this brink are built flights of steps known as ghats, at the foot of which pilgrims bathe and dead bodies are burnt."—For the authority of this the author refers to the *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p.14. But we know that this is not so. In fact, it is only in a lonely corner of the *Maṇikarṇikā* and the *Kedāra* ghats that dead bodies are burnt and no person ever bathes there. However, the book is quite interesting and informative. There is ample matter here for the ancient period of Indian history. The author deserves our congratulation for this important contribution.

The Ethical Philosophy of the Gītā: By Professor P. N. Srinivasachari, M.A., Retired Principal and Professor of Philosophy, Pachaiyappa's College, Madras; Śrī Krishna Library Series No. 6; Śrī Krishna Library, Mylapore, Madras. 1943. Pp. vi+159. Price Rs. 2/-

Professor Srinivasachari is a well-known scholar of the Viśiṣṭādvaita school. His recent book on the philosophy of Viśiṣṭādvaita is an authoritative work. The author in the present work has treated the ethical viewpoint found in the *Bhagavadgītā* in the light of the Viśiṣṭādvaita philosophy. He has been very clear in his treatment and his outlook is never confused like so many other philosophers. He has examined the position of all the schools of philosophy to evaluate his own. Though he is primarily a philosopher of Western thought, yet he is free from all the prejudices which we generally find in most cases. The book is quite interesting and useful for those who want to study the ethical aspect of the *Gītā* according to Viśiṣṭādvaita.

Proceedings of the Inauguration of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute held on November 17, 1943

The members of the Macdonnel University Hindu Boarding House were at home to the guests. A very large gathering of ladies and gentlemen was present. The Rt. Hon. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, P.C., K.C.S.I., M.A., LL D., D.C.L., presided.

The proceedings opened with a prayer in Sanskrit, followed by two Sanskrit poems composed for the occasion by Pandit Jayakishora Jha and Pandit Laksmikanta Diksita:—

॥ श्रीदुर्गामाधवगणेशाः पान्तु ॥

यत्कीर्तिचन्द्रधवलीकृत एव विश्वविद्यालयो लसति सम्प्रति काशिकायाम् ।
सम्राट् स्वयं वशमुपैति किमन्यदुक्त्या भक्त्या स मान्य इह सम्प्रति मालवीयः ॥१॥
खखखयुगयुतेऽब्दे वैक्रमे भव्यमासे सहसि बहुलपक्षे स्कन्दतिथ्यां बुधेह्नि ।
कुलपतिवरगङ्गानाथविद्यालयोऽय प्रकटित इह हृष्येन्मालवीयेन्दुनाद्य ॥२॥
शाके वाणषडष्टभूपरिमिते मार्गेऽह्नि चन्द्रात्मजे
पक्षे मेचक उग्रनन्दनतिथा आगत्य यः स्वादरात् ।
गङ्गानाथमहाशयस्मृतिकृते विद्यालयोद्घाटनम्
प्रेम्णा संरचयन् विराजतु महाचेताः स मे मालवी ॥३॥
जैमिनीये जैमिनिर्यः कापिले कपिलोऽपरः ।
स्मृतिवेदान्तकाणादशङ्करप्रतिमोऽभवत् ॥४॥
सोऽयं स्वःस्थोऽपि सद्विद्यामन्दिरं प्रविलोकयन् ।
गङ्गानाथः कुलपतिर्मैथिलः सम्प्रसीदतु ॥५॥
तेजबहादुरसप्रूभूषितपरिषज्जनाः प्रभासन्ते ।
कमलानां सङ्घा इव भास्करतेजःसमाच्छन्नाः ॥६॥
वाइश्चांसलरकुलचन्द्रो जीव्याच्छरदः शतं प्रपूर्णाशः ।
यन्महिमत्वरतीर्थे विद्वज्जनरञ्जको नितराम् ॥७॥

॥ इति शम् ॥

झोपाह्वः श्रीजयकिशोरशर्मा

सौदामिनीविद्यालयाध्यक्षः

मङ्गलाचरणम्

गणपतिपरिवारं चारुकेयूरहारं गिरिधरवरसारं योगिनीचक्रचारम् ।
भवभयपरिहारं सर्वदा यत्नसारं गणपतिमभिवन्दे वक्रतुण्डावतारम् ॥१॥

वरदविशदहस्तं दक्षिणं यस्य हस्तं सदयमभयदं तं चिन्तये चित्रसंस्थम् ।
शवलकुटिलशुण्डं चैकतुण्डं द्वितुण्डं गणपतिमभिवन्दे सर्वदा वक्रतुण्डम् ॥२॥

मुखे ते ताम्बूलं नयनयुगले कज्जलकला
ललाटे काश्मीर विलसति गले मौक्तिकलता ।
स्फुरत्काञ्ची शाटी पृथुकटितटे हाटकमयी
भजामस्त्वां गौरीं नगपतिकिशोरीमविरतम् ॥३॥

अमलिने नलिने ननु भारति शशिसिते वसतिर्यदि ते प्रिया ।
तव पदस्मरणाद् विशदे सदा वस सतां सदये हृदये तदा ॥४॥

श्रद्धाञ्जलिः

निखिलपण्डितमण्डलमण्डितं निजगुणैर्विमलैः परिसम्भृतम् ।
कमलयामलया च विभूषितं 'मदनमोहन'मत्र उपास्महे ॥१॥

× × × ×

गहनदर्शनशास्त्रविमर्शनैः प्रवचनैः परमार्थसमर्थनैः ।
परमतत्त्वमतैश्च ततत्विषां विजयतां सुतरां विदुषां यशः ॥२॥

मतिमतां महितेषु च तेषु यः परमपूरुषसाम्यमुपेयिवान् ।
प्रचुरसंस्कृतशिष्यगणार्थिनं कमपि सूरिवरं तमुपास्महे ॥३॥

सदा गता खानि सुधेव यत्कथा रसप्रमां न प्रतनोत्यनल्पशः ।
सुराशिरूपो महसां महीयसां मतिं मदीयाममलीकरोत्वसौ ॥४॥

अपाठयद् यान् किल शिष्यतल्लजान् निसर्गधीरांश्च सताञ्च सम्मतान् ।
विकीर्यतेऽद्यापि न किं सदैव तैर्नवं नवं चारुतरं वरं यशः ॥५॥

तेने येन सुधावदातममलं गीर्वाणवाणीयशो
रेमे शास्त्रकलाकलापकलिते विद्वद्विवादे मुदा
ऊहे चासमकार्यजालजटिलः सर्वोभरः स्वस्थिते-
र्गङ्गानाथमहाशयः कुलपतिः स श्रद्धया वन्द्यते ॥६॥

अनुदिनमनवद्यामुन्नतिं यातु 'संस्था' प्रथयतु नवलेखैरङ्कितां पत्रिकाञ्च ।
प्रतिपलकमनीयैर्वन्दनीयैश्च कार्यैर्नयतु च नवमोदं पण्डितं कीर्तिशेषम् ॥७॥

धन्यः 'प्रयागो' 'मिथिला'पि धन्या शिष्यास्तदीयाश्च सुताश्च धन्याः ।
बुधान्वितेयं परिषच्च धन्या धन्या वयं तद्गुणगानतश्च ॥८॥

Maulana Muhammad Ali Nami recited the following verses:

شراب عیش دنیا میں جو زہر مرگ ہے شامل
تو لطف چند روزہ اس سے ہو جاتا ہے سب زائل

نظر آتی ہیں تصویریں جو اِس دنیا کی محفل میں
جو چشم غور سے دیکھا تو پائے نقش سب باطل

نہیں رنگ وفا بوئے بقا ہرگز کسی گل میں
چمن کا پتہ پتہ بھی خزاں کی سمت ہے مائل

وہ تصویریں جو زیب محفل مہرو محبت تھیں
اجل نے کردی اُن کے رخ پہ دیوار فنا حائل

کہاں وہ لوگ جو دنیا میں مشہور زمانہ تھے
ہیں انکے چند افسانے فقط قصّے محض ناول

چنانچہ مجمع اوصاف گنگا ناتھہ جھا پنڈت
وہ یونیورسٹی کے فخر وائس چانسلر فاضل

اُنھیں آخر کیا ہم سے جدا چرخ ستمگر نے
سبھی کو ایکدن ہونا ہے اسکی تیغ سے گھائل

بنا ڈالی ہے اِس میموریل کی یاد میں انکی
ملے عمر دوام اسکو خدا کا فضل ہو شامل

زمانہ میں الہی فیض اسکا ہر طرف پھیلے
تیری امداد سے آسان ہوجائے ہر ایک مشکل

دعا ہے تا ابد قائم رہے یہہ انسٹیٹوت اُنکا
اور انکے نام نامی کو ہمیشہ یاد رکھے دل

The following poem by Dr. Ram Kumar Varma was read:

(१)

जिनकी मर्यादा में कुलपति का था अभिनव आदर्श ज्ञान।
जो विद्या के सागर थे जिनकी गति में था दर्शन-विधान॥
प्रतिभा का शशि प्रतिबिंबित हो जिनमें शत शत अरविंद बना।
उनकी स्मृति से है आज हमारा हृदय हो रहा दीप्तिमान॥

(२)

गंगा की पावन सुधा-धार उर शीतल करती है अपार।
ऐसी प्रिय वाणी की तरंग जीवन में करती थी प्रसार॥
जीवन के विषम विरोध जहाँ समता पाते थे निर्विकार।
ऐसे श्री गंगानाथ साथ हैं अब भी जीवन में उदार॥

(३)

वे व्रती तपस्वी थे क्षण क्षण में दिव्य साधना, दिव्य कांति!
जो ज्ञान-दिशाएं धुँधली थीं, उनमें न रही अणुमात्र भ्रांति॥
वे ऐसे पुण्य प्रभाकर हैं, जो ज्ञानोदय में हैं महान।
उनसे कितने शशि 'अमर' बने जिनमें मिलती है आज शांति।

(४)

उनकी पावन यश-ज्योत्स्ना में संस्कृति की शोभा है अपार।
उनके आदर्शों में पाते हैं, हम जीवन का दिव्य द्वार॥
उनके इंगित पथ पर चलकर हम, पा लेंगे ध्रुव सत्य सार।
उनके चरणों पर आज प्रेम की श्रद्धांजलि है बारबार॥

The following poem in Urdu composed by Capt. S. M. Zamin Ali was read:

دل اُمنڈ آیا جو آئے یاد گنگا ناتھہ جھا
آنکھہ بھر آئي جو اُنکا تذکرہ ھونے لگا

جلسۂ علمي میں کل کي بات ھے آتے تھے وہ
شعلۂ تقریر سے محفل کو گرماتے تھے وہ

دوسروں کے موت پر ھوتے تھے کل تک اشکبار
آج بستي ھے زمانے میں انھیں کي یادگار

ھوکے اوجھل آنکھہ سے، ھیں اب دلوں میں وہ مکیں
جتنے دل ھیں اتني انکي یادگریں بن چکیں

ھاں مگر بنتي جو ھے یہ یادگار مرکزي
ترجمان ھوگی ھر اك کے دلکي محسوسات کي

زندہ انکا نام نامي رکھیگي مابین خلق
فیض کے چشمے کو جاري رکھیگي مابین خلق

ذات والا تھي سبق آموز طرز زندگي
علم کي خدمت عیں ساری عمر اپني صرف کي

مذھب و ملت کے جھگڑوں سے ھمیشہ تھے بری
ان کے حق آگہ دلمیں اسکي گنجائش نہ تھي

دلمیں گھر ھر ایك کے کرتی تھی ان کی سادگي
جس پہ ھوں آرائشیں قربان وہ سادہ روی

عالم و فاضل ادیب نکتہ داں و فلسفی
واقف جملہ علوم مغربی و مشرقي

ذات سے ان کے تھي ایوان ادب میں روشنی
جگمگا اٹھی قدم سے ان کے یونیورسٹی

یوں تو ھر صیغے پہ تھی انکی عنایت کی نظر
اردو ھندی پر مگر تھی خاص الفت کی نظر

دونوں شعبے آپ هی کے عہد زریں میں بنے
آپ کی اِمداد سے یہ دونوں بڑھتے هی رهے

کم هے جتنا بھی کرے فخر آپ پر هندوستان
اعلی تعلیمات میں داخل هوئی اردو زبان

تھی تمنا یہ کہ کچھہ دن اور زندہ رهتے آپ
اس زبان کو آلۂ تعلیم بنوا دیتے آپ

آنسوؤں کے چند موتی اور عقیدت کے یہ پھول
نظر کو لایا هے ضامن کیجئے۔ اسکو قبول

The Secretary then presented his report and read out the following letter received from Sir S. Radhakrishnan:

My dear Dr. Umesha Mishra,

Thank you for your letter of the 11th. I am very sorry that it will not be possible for me to be present at your function and pay my tribute of great admiration for the character, personality and scholarship of the late Mahamahopadhyaya Sir Ganganatha Jha. He was one of the outstanding scholars of Sanskrit philosophy and literature in recent times. His translations of Sanskrit Philosophical Classics have been the source material for many doctorate dissertations. I am very glad to know that you wish to perpetuate the memory of this illustrious savant by opening an institute in his name. You have my very best wishes for the success of this function and the future of this Institute.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Sd. S. Radhakrishnan

SECRETARY'S REPORT

Dr. Ganganatha Jha died on November 10, 1941. Shortly afterwards, his numerous pupils and admirers felt that his memory should be perpetuated in a fitting manner. Encouragement came through an offer made by the hon. Maharajadhiraj Sir Kameshwara Bahadur Singh of Darbhanga to donate Rs. 25,000 as a nucleus for a Memorial Fund. Owing to the abnormal conditions that prevailed a start could not be made before December, 1942. In that month an appeal for funds was issued under the signature of over fifty eminent scholars and public men, including Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the hon. Mr. Aney, the rt. hon. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, the rt. hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, Dr. Bhagwan Das, Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Iyer, Sir S. Radhakrishnan, the Raja of Chettinad, Sir Ziauddin Ahmad, the hon. Sir Sita Ram, Sir T. Vijairaghavachariar, Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha, Raja Sir Maharaj Singh, Dr. Panna Lall, Dr. Kailashnath Katju, Pandit Iqbal Narain Gurtu, the hon. Dr. Hirdaynath Kunzru, Raja Jagannath Baksh Singh, Mr. Syed Abu Mohammad, M. M. Vidhushekhar Bhattacharya, M. M. P. V. Kane, Dr. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, Rao Raja Shyam Bihari Mishra, Dr. Brijendra Swarup, Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, Kunwar Gangananda Singh, Dr. N. P. Asthana, Mr. J. R. Gharpure. A local Executive Committee was formed with Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru as Chairman, Rai Bahadur Pandit Brajmohan Vyas as Treasurer, myself as Secretary, and Professor Amaranatha Jha, Dr. Tara Chand, Dr. A. S. Siddiqi, Rai Bahadur Babu Bhagwati Saran Singh, Prof. R. D. Ranade and Pandit K. Chattopadhyaya as members. This Committee has met frequently and has collected more than Rs. 65,000 already. The principal donors are Sir Padampat Singhania, His Highness the Maharaja of

Tehri Garhwal, Mr. H. G. Misra, the Raja of Korea. Active steps are being taken to collect more funds and it is expected that 1½ lakhs will be collected before many months.

It was felt that the most appropriate shape which the memorial could take was an Oriental Research Institute. A project for such an institute was sponsored by the Government of India in 1911 and was warmly welcomed by Dr. Jha who was a member of the Committee which met in Simla that year. Ultimately, however, the powers that be decided to establish a school of Oriental Studies in London. The Institute which is now being started at Allahabad will be a centre for research and publication primarily in the classics; it will have a collection of books and manuscripts; it will have stipends for research scholars; it will undertake the publication of original works, of translations, and of research papers. It will publish an Oriental Research Journal, the first issue of which has been issued to-day. It will foster the traditional scholarship of the land and also use the methods of modern scientific investigation. Such an Institute, we feel, is the best memorial that can be erected in honour of one who combined in himself the depth and soundness of the Pandit and the breadth of outlook and liberalism of the modern scholar. We hope to have an up-to-date library, principally of Sanskrit, Pali, Prakrit, Persian, Arabic books; full sets of learned journals and manuscripts. We intend to have full-time salaried scholars and a number of research students. Dr. Jha's valuable library of books and manuscripts has been given by his sons to the Institute. Pandit Kubernath Sukul has gifted a valuable collection, consisting of a thousand manuscripts, including a hundred Persian manuscripts. Dr. Mata Prasad Gupta and Mr. Sambasadashiva Sastri have also presented some manuscripts. The authorities of the Hindu Boarding

House have generously offered to house the Institute until it has a building of its own. It is hoped that a centrally situated plot of land will be available for the construction of the Institute building. The actual building operations will of course have to be put off until normal economic conditions are restored. But it was felt that the opening of the Institute should not be further delayed. The Journal has been published to-day under the editorship of Professor Ranade, Dr. Siddiqi, and myself and contains contributions from the leading orientalists of the country. Material for the second issue is already in hand.

Sir Ganganatha Jha's own literary labours covered a very wide field. His works included literature, law, religion, and the various systems of philosophy. He had the highest regard for all forms of learning. It is our hope that those who work in for the Institute will be inspired by his ideals. The Committee is fortunate in having as its Chairman an eminent scholar whose intellectual integrity and scholarly attainments are universally respected. Under Dr. Sapru's inspiring leadership we are confident that the project will receive wide support. We are exceedingly grateful to Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya for his kindness in consenting to open the Institute, despite his poor health. He is honoured wherever learning and high character are honoured; he is honoured both for what he is and what he has achieved. He was for about 50 years a personal friend of Dr. Jha's; and the Institute could not have been started under better auspices.

With these words I place before you an account of what the Committee has done, the hopes that it entertains, the aims it seeks to achieve, and the ideals it cherishes. We hope that this Institute will add materially to the store of learning and will become a true centre of light.

The President then requested Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya to perform the opening ceremony of the Institute, saying, "May I very respectfully ask you, Sir, to do it."

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya then delivered his inaugural address.

"Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, ladies and gentlemen,

I thank you for the honour that you have done me in asking me to come to open this Institute.

Dr. Ganganatha Jha was one of the most eminent scholars of his time. There were few persons in whom were combined in an equal measure both deep knowledge and modern learning and research. He was respected for his learning; he was respected even more for his purity of character and for his devotion to learning. It is in the fitness of things that at a place which was the scene of his activities for so many years he should be remembered by an Institute like the Research Institute which you propose to establish in his name. This is a most fitting memorial at a very suitable place.

To students Dr. Ganganatha Jha was always a source of inspiration for his devotion to learning, his scholarship, and his simple way of living for which he was noted. To the students of Sanskrit there cannot be a better ideal for inspiration than an Institute of this kind erected in memory of Dr. Ganganatha Jha. To scholars he will be a constant source of inspiration because throughout his long life he was a most devoted scholar. To students and teachers he was a source of constant help. For the general public one cannot think of any Institute better than this for the higher study of the classics. Dr. Ganganatha Jha will always be remembered for his depth of learning and for his contributions to Sanskrit studies and his researches.

As regards a memorial for Dr. Ganganatha Jha I cannot think of anything better than this Institute. We have not sufficiently appreciated the manuscripts that lie

buried in numerous places in the country. I can assure you from the little knowledge that I have about manuscript collections of some of important places that they are a source of great and useful knowledge to students of Sanskrit. Manuscripts might be regarded by material observers as not being useful, but that is a mistake. In the first place these manuscripts excite our imagination and admiration and in the second place they remind us of the days when the press did not exist and of the deep labour with which these manuscripts were written. It is a matter for wonder and admiration to see with what pains the scholars of the past carried out the work of writing these manuscripts. In many of the State libraries, for instance, in Bikaner, Travancore and other places we have a large number of books written by hand which have yet to be published.

There is need for more than one centre like the one you are proposing to erect here. I hope and pray that your efforts may be crowned with success and that you may be able really to build up an active centre of research for ancient Sanskrit learning and other oriental languages. Knowledge is universal and it ought to be popularised. We hope that this centre will be a means of creating such other centres.

I do not think that I should detain you any further. I am anxious to hear my most esteemed friend, the Right Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. I thank you once more for having done me the honour of asking me to open this Institute. I declare the Institute open."

Then the Rt. Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru said:

"Panditji, ladies and gentlemen,

As President of the Ganganatha Jha Memorial Committee I desire to thank you all for having assembled this evening in such large numbers. I regard your presence

as an expression of approval of the step which my Committee has taken in this matter. But if there is one man in this crowd to whom our thanks are due more than to any other person, it is our revered leader, Pt. Madan Mohan Malaviya, the living embodiment of lifelong service to the cause of learning, knowledge and education all over the country. (Applause.) I very well remember, more than forty years ago, as an obscure young man I attended the ceremony connected with the laying of the foundation of this hostel which is one of the many creations of Panditji. He could have hardly foreseen and yet he sees it to-day that this institution, this hostel, the foundation of which was laid more than forty years ago, will be the scene for the laying of the foundation of another institute intended to perpetuate the name of a great scholar and to strengthen the claim of classical education in our country. It must be a source of supreme pleasure and satisfaction to him. We are particularly indebted to him for having attended this function and blessed the inauguration of this Institute. Weighed down with years, in feeble health and yet possessing a heart burning with love for the country and with love of knowledge and learning, he has taken the trouble to come here and there could not be a better augury for the future of this Institute. To you, Sir, Allahabad, in particular, though you have deserted us in recent years, owes a debt which we will never be able to repay either in this generation or in succeeding generations. Young men whom I see in my presence here can scarcely realise the extent or the depth of the service of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya to the cause of education in these Provinces. I, therefore, desire to thank you on behalf of the Committee, and may I add on my behalf, for having taken the trouble of coming to this function.

Now, I would like to pay a tribute, my own tribute, to the memory of that great scholar in whose honour we

have met this evening. It is rather ridiculous that an ignoramus like myself who cannot pretend to possess any knowledge of Sanskrit should have been called upon to preside over a function like this, and yet I honestly assure you that during the 30 or 40 years that I was privileged to know Pt. Ganganatha Jha there was scarcely a man in Allahabad whom I held in greater esteem than Pt. Ganganatha Jha. It added to my stature as an Indian when in 1935 I happened to be in Paris and was invited by Professor Sylvan Levy to a function very similar to that which we are holding to-day; and at Sorbonne University, Sylvan Levy surrounded by many other orientalists made very keen enquiries about Pt. Ganganatha Jha. I remember the very words which he used: 'That man is an ocean of learning,' he said. You can imagine how proud I must have felt as an Indian that I was a countryman and contemporary of a great scholar who had not left India, whose orthodoxy would not have permitted him to leave India, and yet whose reputation had travelled nearly 6,000 miles away from this country. He rendered signal service to the cause of education in these Provinces and to the Allahabad University, but there is one service which he rendered and of which I will remind you. He has left in my friend, Pt. Amaranatha Jha, a son worthy of his predecessor, who has maintained the traditions of his father in the University. Well if I am not guilty of a breach of confidence and if I do not anticipate the press, I may say that last night I was reading an address which he is going to deliver two or three days hence at some place in these Provinces, and as I read page after page, I was moved, and I said, "Here is a man imbued with the classical spirit." It is a very powerful plea which he is going to urge within the next few days for classical education and for greater emphasis on classical education. I speak with great respect in the presence of some Professors of Science

because I am as ignorant of Science as I am ignorant of Sanskrit, but I venture to think—I hope they will correct me—that much of the trouble of the present-day world is due to them. They can say it is not they who have created this trouble, but it is the abuse of their genius which has created the trouble. Whatever it may be, frankly speaking, while I do attach some value—and a great deal I must say frankly from a material point of view—to Scientists and Science, I confess I share with my friend, Dr. Amaranatha Jha, his weakness for the classics. For, young men, if you want to have ideals which would inspire you to a nobler life, which would move you to do service of the country and which would teach you how to live and how to die for those ideals, you will find them not in the pages of scientific books, but in the pages of classical books. I hope I shall not be castigated by my distinguished friends, the Professors of Science. But I confess that it is in the fitness of things that an Institute like this devoted to the study and development of classical languages like Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian should have been founded at this place to perpetuate the memory of one of the greatest classical scholars of our times in this country. I do hope and trust that young men in the University may spare some time from their pursuits for building up constitutions to spend just a little time in the archives of this Institute. They can then interpret in their own way the thoughts of their ancestors just on the lines on which Pt. Ganganatha Jha did in his own days and thus they can strengthen all those bonds which must unite one intellectual man with another.

I will not take more of your time. Our thanks are due to the Maharajadhiraj of Darbhanga, whose munificent gift gave us a start, and to Sir Padampat Singhania, who made a very handsome gift and to other generous donors and I sincerely hope and trust that more funds will

be available to us so that we may actually start building operations and having finished the building, we may lodge our library and invite scholars to carry on the work of research in the traditions of Dr. Ganganatha Jha. I will say no more.

This was followed by the speeches of the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Bajpai, Munshi Ishwar Saran and Dr. Tara Chand:

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Uma Shankar Bajpai said:

"Revered Malaviya Ji, Rt. Hon. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, ladies and gentlemen,

We have all assembled together to pay our homage to the memory of the great scholar, the late Sir Ganganatha Jha. I believe it will come as a surprise to you if I were to say that I am perhaps, if not his oldest, one of his oldest colleagues when he and I were on the staff of the Muir Central College. I remember him, as few men remember him; we were great friends and I consider it a great privilege that I have been called upon to say a few words on this occasion. It is a happy augury that Malaviyaji has opened this Institute. It is being housed in a borrowed building, but the borrowed building is perhaps the first child of our distinguished citizen. It is also in the fitness of things that Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru is the President of the Committee. As he has said, Pt. Ganganatha Jha has left works, many works, of abiding interest, works which ignorant people like myself cannot appreciate, but one work he has left which we can all appreciate; I mean the Vice-Chancellor. I will say no more. My heart is full. Sir Ganganatha Jha is dead. Long live the Ganganatha Jha Memorial Research Institute."

Munshi Ishwar Saran said:

"Friends, I also consider it a high privilege to be able to take part in the function this afternoon. It is a matter of sincere gratification and thankfulness that the Institute has been opened by a man whose life is a sermon on service and sacrifice and whose idealism is the inspiration of millions of his countrymen all over India. It is also in the fitness of things that a function in honour of a distinguished man should be presided over by another distinguished man who has risen to great heights not only in the profession which he adorns but in the public life of the country as well. To Malaviyaji Maharaj, the founder of the Hindu Boarding House, and to others connected with it it must be a matter of great satisfaction that this Institute is going to have its first home in this building. Long after, when the other building will be ready, it will be remembered that the first home of the Institute was the Hindu Boardnig House. I do not think it is necessary to speak at any length about the service, the eminence, the scholarship and the distinction of Pt. Ganganatha Jha. Most of us here know it; we are happy and grateful that not long ago a man lived amongst us who helped us by his work, by his devotion, by his counsel and by his example. Friends, to me the life a man lives is far more important than his ability or scholarship. I can truthfully say that in these days of modernisation and blind imitation Pt. Ganganatha Jha's life had a unique charm about it. He was simple, dignified, courteous, urbane, scholarly and thoughtful. About his learning I am not in a position to say anything. If the Rt. Hon. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru does not know any Sanskrit, I know less and knowing nothing about Sanskrit I am afraid I cannot pronounce a panegyric on his learning or attainments. All that I heard was that he was a profound scholar, that he was a great thinker and that he tried to look at things from the

scientific point of view. Many of our Pandits are very learned indeed, but I say with great respect and with great regret that they lack the scientific approach to many problems. Panditji had the scientific approach and he was, therefore, able to present things in a way which was acceptable to people of modern times. I am afraid I shall be tiring you if I speak at length, but I wish to tell you that I am a bit of a day-dreamer. Day-dreaming is a malady and I must confess I have got it. When I see with the eye of faith and of hope, I see a noble pile of buildings, sufficient funds, a band of careful, trained and devoted scholars and researchers working in the Ganganatha Jha Institute. You may ask where are the funds, where is the pile of buildings which you see, where is the band of scholars? May I tell you that no difficulty daunts a man who is determined to see a thing done. If the organizers of the Institute and if we who are here and profess our sympathy with the scheme are in earnest as I hope we are, it should not be difficult to achieve what we have in view. If success comes, and it is bound to come provided we are honest and sincere in our efforts, then oriental learning will be able to hold its head high and will no longer remain at the doorsteps of modern learning waiting for the crumbs that might fall from its table. Oriental learning then will be able to make its contribution to the culture and progress of the world. When that is done, Pt. Ganganatha Jha's soul will rejoice. His soul will feel happy that the ideal that he had placed before himself in his life-time was being realised by a band of Hindu, Muslim, Christian men who were going to serve India and humanity through oriental learning."

Dr. Tara Chand said:

"Revered Malaviya Ji, Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen,

It is a great privilege to be associated with the opening of Pt. Ganganatha Jha Memorial Institute. The opening of the Institute fulfils a long and keenly felt need of this great centre of learning in Allahabad. It provides a fitting memorial to the scholar, who by his learning stood pre-eminent among the Sanskritists of his age. The Institute, as I have said, fulfils a long-felt need. I can recall to my mind many important centres of learning where similar institutes exist. In Oxford there is the Indian Institute where Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian are pursued and researches are made. In London there is the Oriental School of Studies. In Paris there is L'Ecole de dangues Oriente; in America there is an American Oriental Society and in other countries, Germany, Italy and Russia, there are Oriental Institutes where oriental learning is pursued. In our country unfortunately which is the home of Sanskrit learning, where Arabic and Persian have also flourished for a long time, there has not been an Institute of this type except in one or two places. There is the Bhandarkar Institute at Poona. But besides the Bhandarkar Institute, there is hardly any other Institute of the same kind in this great country. May I say that many such Institutes are needed in this country. It has already been said by previous speakers that there are in our country numerous manuscripts in Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian which require to be delved out and which require to be brought to the notice of the world. May I say also that the work of Sanskritists has not yet touched the fringe of this great ocean of learning which lies buried in the ancient libraries in the old cities of India? We have few critical standard editions of ancient Sanskrit works. The Bhandarkar Institute has been busy for the last 20 years

in editing the great work, namely, the *Mahābhārata*, the end of their labours is not yet in sight, but there are numerous other works as important or a little less important than the *Mahābhārata*, which require to be taken up by Institutes like this. If I may be pardoned for a little indication of what I have been doing, may I say that I was working on the translation in Persian of the Upaniṣads made by Darashikoh, in the middle of the seventeenth century. I compared the Persian texts word by word with the Sanskrit texts as published by the Bombay Press and by the Gita Press of Gorakhpur. I discovered that there were many differences between the Persian translation and the Bombay and the Gorakhpur editions of the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, and I feel that if that was the condition of such a great work as the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, what would be the state of the other books of ancient texts which are found in India to-day. Darashikoh had in the seventeeth century the Pandits of Benares to help him in translating manuscripts into Persian. If the texts then available differ from the texts that exist to-day, is it not the duty of the scholars to find out what the real changes are? The work of this description would require a large number of scholars to carry it on for many years. About *Bhagawad-Gītā* which is revered in India by everybody there are many differences of opinion in regard to its text and there are therefore a number of interpretations of the *Bhagawad-Gītā*. It is necessary that such a great and important work as the *Bhagawad-Gītā* should be taken up and its text standardized. I need not weary you with other illustrations. I have said enough to prove that not one great Institute but many more Institutes of this kind will be necessary if the learned works of ancient India and mediæval India are to be taken up, edited and interpreted in the proper manner. I said it is befitting that this Institute should be associated with the name of Mahama-

hopadhyaya Sir Ganganatha Jha. All those who have read something of his work know that he was among the most eminent scholars of the world, a man of very wide and deep learning. There is hardly any branch of Sanskrit learning on which he did not work and on which he did not write something. From Alaṅkāra Śāstra to Vedānta almost every department of Sanskrit learning was under his eyes. But I will not try here to analyse his works or even to place before you the names of the works that he has written. I will, however, say this that in three branches his scholarship and learning is of permanent value. In the first place he translated some of the most difficult of Sanskrit texts into English and brought them to the notice of the scholars of the world. I may say that there are not many Pandits in the country to-day who are capable of understanding and rendering those works into the English language. In the second place I may say that he was one of the greatest of Dharma Śāstra scholars in the country. His contribution to legalistic learning was very great indeed. He translated *Manusmṛti* and its commentaries and he has made a great mark in this field and greatly advanced the understanding and interpretation of the Smṛtis. But probably his most enduring work is on Mīmāṁsā and I think I can say without fear of contradiction that he was regarded as the greatest Mīmāṁsā scholar not only in India but all over the world.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I have taken a great deal of your time, but I feel proud that I have been asked to associate myself with the opening of this Institute."

After Babu Bhagwati Saran Singh of Anapur and Professor A. P. Dube proposed a vote thanks. Babu Bhagwati Saran Singh spoke in Hindustani, while Prof. Dube in English :

Professor A. P. Dube proposing a vote of thanks said:

"I think the great credit for to-day's meeting goes to the students of the Hindu Hostel. When the Committee proposed to hold this meeting, they came to the conclusion that they must be 'At Home' on such a memorable occasion where Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya Ji was going to be present and where the Institute was going to have its temporary sojourn.

Among the many evils which you have mentioned about the scientists there is one evil which they have spread. A motor driver of to-day because he is able to drive a motor car thinks that he is more civilised than a chariot driver of Greece. The Master of Balliol, Professor Jowett, who was a great classical scholar, declared that an average Athenian was ten times more civilised than an average Londoner or an inhabitant of New York. This shows that the ancient learning which we are going to store in our Hindu Boarding House even temporarily has its value for us to-day, a value not only for us but for the whole world. Sir, I verily imagine that the whole mankind, eliminating some differences, is essentially one. Therefore, whatever has passed in the family of man in one quarter of the globe or in one epoch of the life of mankind is an affair from which all mankind in all ages may profit. These are instructive for us all.

In this connection, Sir, I may remind you that although the Law of Trust is entirely a peculiar institution of English Chancery, the like of which is not to be seen anywhere on the Continent of Europe, it has been bodily transferred to this country and is working well. We have adopted many of the laws of England after having cured them of technicalities and they are working very well in India. In face of this, Sir, it surprises me when people say that the parliamentary institutions of England are not suited to India. At such a statement angels will weep but

gods will laugh. If the scholars who are now going to work in this Institute succeed in fusing the ancient ideals which these records contain into future, I shall be able to say of my country what Emerson said of America,

"She in her native centre fast,
Can into future fuse the past,
And the world's flowing fates,
In her own mould recast."

I thank all the guests."

After this the President requested those who were present to visit the Hall where the manuscripts and books were kept.

THE KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI MEMORIAL

AN APPEAL

The immense services of the late Mahamahopadhyaya Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri to the cause of Sanskrit learning and education are very well known. He was a profound scholar in all the Sastras and a *literateur* of rare excellence. He combined the depth of knowledge of the old style of learning with the width and critical outlook of the modern scholar in a remarkable measure. First as Principal of the Sanskrit Colleges in Mylapore and Trivadi, and then as Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology in the Presidency College, Madras, he played for many years the most decisive part in the designing and the working of the courses of study in Sanskrit, and Indian languages in general, in the University of Madras. He started the Samskrita Academy in 1926 in collaboration with Sri V. V. Srinivasa Ayyangar and others, and the Journal of Oriental Research in 1927 with Sir P. S. Sivaswami Ayyar as the President of the Executive Committee and himself as the Chief Editor; and as the Curator of Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, he organised an intensive campaign of manuscript collection and got together what is to-day one of the finest collections in the world, of which the province is rightly proud to be the owner. During the thirty years of his work as Professor, he trained a number of eminent panditas and young men in the critical methods of the study of Sanskrit works, and brought into being a school of research the members of which are now carrying on research work in the several institutions in and outside Madras. He planned the revision and amplification of Aufrecht's Catalogus Catalogorum of Sanskrit Manuscripts and was Chief Editor of this work for some years. His work as member of the various academic bodies in the Universities of India and in the University of Madras in particular, was always characterised by a thoroughness and high academic perfection which earned for him the deepest respect of his colleagues.

The Public meetings held in the city and elsewhere when the news of his passing away was reported last September and the speeches that were delivered by many scholars and publicists on those occasions gave clear proof of the high esteem in which his work was held and the love and affection his personal qualities evoked.

At the last All India Oriental Conference held at Benares (December 31, 1943 and January 1 and 2, 1944), the President of the Conference, Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, himself a great Sanskritist, made an eloquent appeal for starting a Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute at Madras on the model of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute at Poona, and the new Ganganatha Jha Research Institute at Allahabad. Such an Institute would be a fitting

memorial to the great Professor and it could take under its protecting wings the Samskrita Academy and the Journal of Oriental Research that were so dear to the Professor during his lifetime, undertake the publication of the unpublished works of the Professor, and continue the useful work of Research started by him.

Liberal contributions are solicited towards the realisation of this project which would require a lakh of Rupees as a minimum, and they may be kindly sent to Sri Rao Bahadur K. V. Krishnaswami Aiyar, Advocate, 6 North Mada Street, Mylapore.

President.

The Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri.

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